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Issued in February, 1948

EDITOR

PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B., D.LITT.,
Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture
Benares Hindu University

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A NEW (KOŚALA ?) VARIETY OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS.

By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares.

Punch-marked coins of ancient India present a number of problems which still remain unsolved. The material for their solution is insufficient and inconclusive and it is therefore desirable that we should continue to collect more data for their solution. From this point of view the discovery of a new type of silver punch-marked coinage, which is being described in this paper, is very interesting and valuable. The five coins that are being published here were purchased from Mr. Kesarichand Jaria, a coin-dealer from Lucknow. It appears that a large number of these coins were found in a hoard somewhere in U. P. or Kośala and that Mr. Jaria procured a part of them.

We shall first describe the coins illustrated in Pl. IA.

No. 1. Metal, silver ; size, irregular squarish, 1.05″ × .95″ ; weight, 53 grains.

Obverse : 1. In the upper left corner, the Six-armed Symbol consisting of alternating arrowheads and rectangles only partly visible. Only one of the rectangle is visible, and it looks somewhat like an oval. But in coin No. 5, the rectangles are clear and so we may assume that what looks like an irregular oval was really intended to be a rectangle.

2. In the lower left corner, the Sun, with slanting rays.
3. Lower side centre, some animal, possibly a tortoise, surrounded by circles.
4. Right side below, Elephant to right with two tusks.
5. Right side top, an incomplete symbol, possibly the hind part of an animal. Pl. IA, 1.

Reverse : Blank.

No. 2. Metal, silver ; size, irregular, greatest length 1.2″, greatest breadth .9″; weight, 52 grains.

Obverse : 1. Left side centre, Six-armed Symbol with alternating triangles and arrowheads.

2. Lower side bottom, Bow and arrow strung together.
3. Lower side right corner, portion of the Sun Symbol with slanting rays, similar to No. 2 on coin No. 1.
4. Right side centre, a symbol consisting of a circle with taurine on either side, the one above being blurred.

5. Right side top, the same as No. 3 in coin No. 1, but the animal here definitely looks like a tortoise.

Pl IA, 2

Reverse : Blank.

No. 3. Metal, silver ; size, irregular, greatest length 1·5″, greatest breadth ·85″ ; weight, 52·5 grains.

Obverse : 1. Lower side, left corner, the Sun.

2. Right side centre, Six-armed Symbol with arrowheads and ovals alternating.
3. Right side top, the Animal surrounded by dots.
4. Upper side right corner, Taurine, which may be part of the circle flanked by two taurines occurring on coin No. 2.
5. Left side upper part (to be viewed from the right of the photograph), Four Lotus buds in a lake, the lower ones being clear. The lake is denoted by an incuse conical depression, whose right side (when viewed from the right of the photograph) looks a little detached in the plate, but is not so in the original. **Pl IA, 3.**

Reverse : Blank.

No. 4. Metal, silver ; size irregular, greatest length 1·15″, greatest breadth, ·85″ ; weight, 52·5 grains.

Obverse : 1. Upper side centre, Six-armed Symbol with arrowheads and triangles alternating as in No. 2 above, but better preserved.

2. Left side centre, Bow and arrow strung together, the same as No. 2 on coin No. 2 above.
3. Lower side, Animal surrounded with dots. It is similar to No. 5 of coin No. 2 and No. 3 of coin No. 1, but the dots are relatively smaller ; those in the lower portion can be detected only in the original and not in the photograph.
4. Right side centre, a circle flanked by taurines, the one on the left being blurred and the one on the right being incomplete.
5. Right side top, the Sun symbol but partly engraved.

Pl I A, 4.

Reverse : Blank.

No. 4. resembles No. 2 both in size and symbols.

No. 5. Metal, silver ; size, greatest length, 1·15″, greatest breadth, ·95″, weight, 52·5 grains.

Obverse : 1. Left side centre, Six-armed Symbol with alternating arrow-heads and rectangles as on No. 1.

2. Left side lower corner, the Sun.

3. Lower side right corner, the Animal surrounded by dots.
4. Right side near the top, an incomplete symbol, but its traces suggest an Elephant facing right.
5. Upper side extreme top, an Insect with many feet.

Pl. I A.5.

Reverse : Blank.

No. 5 resembles No 1 in size. Four symbols of both these coins are identical, the fifth incomplete one being different.

The five coins illustrated along with this paper undoubtedly constitute a new class of the silver punch-marked coins. In their large size, they resemble the Kośala coins described by Babu Durga Prasad[1] and Srinath Sah[2]; they however differ from them in not being saucer-shaped. They have no symbols on the reverse as is the case with four of the six coins described by Mr. Srinath Sah. They have however no numerous additional marks imprinted on the obverse, as is the case with the Kośala coins of Babu Srinath Sah. Their weight varies between 52·5 and 53 grains, which is the normal weight of most of the well preserved punch-marked silver coins, though it is about 5 grains less than the theoretical weight of 32 *ratis* or 58 grains, as postulated by Manu.

Early coins of Kośala, like those referred to above, or those of the Paila hoard,[3] had only four symbols on the obverse; like the later punch-marked coins, the present coins, however, have 5 symbols on the obverse. They however differ from them in having a size nearly twice as large. The peculiar symbol occurring in early Kośala coins like those of the Paila and Saheth-Maheth hoards and the Kośala coins of Durga Prasad, namely, three Serpentines round a knob, is absent on these coins. Nor do Pentagrams, Circle surrounded by four umbrellas or by five semicircles with knobs in the centre or circle surrounded by two arches, one larger and one smaller, occur on the present coins as they do on those of Babu Durga Prasad and of the Paila hoard. If we compare the present coins with those of the Golakhpur (Patna) hoard, we find that the size of both is approximately the same, and equally irregular. They also resemble them in having the Sun and the Six-armed symbol as the constant symbols, as is also the case with later punch-marked coins. The Flower pot and Hexagon, which are common symbols on the coins of the Golakhpur hoard, are absent on the present coins.

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1. *J. A. S. B.*, N. S., 1934, pp. 12-13, pl. I-III.
2. *J. N. S. I.*, III, p. 47; V. pp. 13-16.
3. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 15 ff.

The Elephant which occurs on coin No. 1 and possibly on No. 5 is a common symbol on the punch-marked coins; so is the Circle flanked by taurines, occurring on coins Nos. 2-4, which is common on later coins. The Bow with arrow strung is, however, a rather rare symbol and occurs on class 4 varieties a and b of the British Museum Catalogue. The insect with many feet at the top of coin No. 5 is rather rare on the obverse; it occurs on class 6, Group VI, varieties a, b and f of the British Museum Catalogue.

The symbol, Four Buds in a tank, occurring on coin No. 3 is a new symbol. So is the animal, most probably tortoise, surrounded by dots or circles. This symbol is similar to that of the ox-head surrounded by circles occurring on some of the punch-marked coins in the Golakhpur (Patna) hoard. It may be, however, added that while on some of the coins of this hoard the symbol is clearly that of the ox-head (e. g. Pl. 11 no. 83 of *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1919), it distinctly resembles the present symbol on some other coins in that hoard (e. g. Pl. 11 No. 81).

The size and symbols of the present coins suggest that they are nearer in type and time to those of the Golakhpur hoard than those of the later period. They resemble the early Kośala coins only in their size, and not in their nature. We may tentatively place them in *c.* 400 B. C.

No. 1 resembles in its symbols Class 1 and Class 6, Group III, variety a of the British Museum in having the Sun, the Six-armed symbol and the Elephant, but its 4th and most characteristic symbol, Animal surrounded by dots, does not occur on the British Museum coins. The Six-armed Symbol also is of a different variety. Nos. 2 and 4 resemble Class 2, Group X, varieties a and b and Class 4 of the British Museum in having the Sun, the Six-armed Symbol and the Bow and arrow, but they differ from them in having the animal surrounded by dots. Their fifth symbols also does not occur on Class 2 of the British Museum. No. 4 bears a close resemblance to Class 6, Group 1, variety d of the British Museum. Besides the Sun and the Six-armed Symbol, both these have the Circle flanked by taurines (partly visible on our coin). The symbol, Four Buds in the tank, on our coin is replaced by Four Fish in the tank in the British Museum piece. The latter has Bull instead of the Animal surrounded by dots on the present piece. Coin No. 5 resembles Class 6, Group VI, varieties c and d and Group VII, variety f in having the Animal with many feet on the obverse. If its indistinct animal is Bull, it will be closer to Class 6, Group II, variety c, which has that animal. It will be different from it however in baving the Animal surrounded by dots as the fifth symbol.

It is likely that there may be more coins of this type in private and museum collections. If they are published, we shall be able to know whether the Sun, the Six-armed Symbol and the Animal surrounded by dots is a common characteristic of the coins of this class. It would be worth knowing whether the symbol, Four Buds in a lake, occurs on any of them. I trust that private collectors and museum curators will re-examine their collections to find out whether they have any coins of this class and take early steps to publish them in this *Journal*, if they have any.

SOME NEW HERMAIOS-KUJULA KADPHISES COINS.

By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares.

How precisely the Greek rule came to an end in India and what were the relations between Hermaios, who is usually presumed to be the last Greek ruler and Kujula Kadphises, who was the first ruler of the Kushāna dynasty, are problems that have been engaging the attention of scholars for nearly a century. No satisfactory answer to them, that can be universally accepted, has however yet been found. The evidence of the coin types seems to suggest that Kujula Kadphises gradually expanded his power at the cost of Hermaios and eventually supplanted him. For we have got the coins of Hermaios alone, then of Hermaios with his own name and bust on the obverse and the name of Kujula Kadphises on the reverse; then come the coins with the bust of Hermaios but the name of Kadphises on the obverse in Greek and the name of the same ruler on the reverse also in Kharoshṭhi. Finally, we have the coins of Kadphises alone, his name appearing both on the obverse and reverse. The evidence supplied by this series of types seems *prima facie* to be conclusive in showing that Hermaios associated or was compelled to associate one Kujula Kadphises in his government towards the end of his reign, and that the new partner in the administration eventually supplanted him either in his life time or soon after his death. This was the view which the late Mr. Rapson had advocated in his *Indian Coins*, p. 16, published in 1898.

Later on, however, when he had an occasion to write on the same subject in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 560-2, he admitted that the above view was not the correct one, and that the Kabul valley was in possession of the Parthians for a few decades during the interval between the downfall of Hermaios and the rise of Kujula Kadphises. He pointed out that the coins which bear the names of Hermaios must, if we judge from their style and fabric, extend over a long period, and that they were mechanically copied by Kujula Kadphises to supply his first issues in the Kabul valley. Rapson points out that the last issues issued by Hermaios during the concluding days of his reign, when his power was tottering, are those which bear his old age bust on the obverse and Heracles standing on the reverse. This type was later on mechanically copied by Kadphises I. In the beginning he was content to have his name on the reverse; but later on

he put it on the obverse also. This coin type was continued, says Rapson, by Kadphises until a much later date in the same way and for the same reasons for which the East India Company continued for many years to strike rupees bearing the name of the Moghul emperor Shah Alam. The people were accustomed to this type and the new conqueror realised that there was a chance for his currency being accepted by the public, only if it resembled the old one in its essential features.

Archæological and other evidences have now shown that the Parthian rule intervened between the Indo-Greek and the Kushāna rule at Taxila. It is, therefore, clear that the correct view is that the so-called joint coins of Hermaios and Kadphises I are not really an instance of joint coinage, but merely mechanical copies of the type of Hermaios, which were popular in the Kabul valley. The coins of this type which have been so far published in the catâlogues, e. g. *The British Museum Catalogue, the Punjab Museum Catalogue, the Indian Museum Catalogue,* etc., do not give us a vivid idea of the mechanical process of imitation of the once popular type. If we examine the coins illustrated in the above catalogues, we shall find that the bust of the obverse bears a certain fairly recognisable similarity with the old age bust of the last Greek ruler. If we consider the coins alone, we have still to concede the possibility of all these coins having been issued during the course of a single generatiôn. All of them have a fairly legible Greek legend as well.

During my visit to Taxila in December 1945, Mr. Amalanand Ghosh, M. A., Superintendent, Excavation Branch, Archæological Survey of India, gave me for examination some copper coins of the Hermaios-Kadphises type found at Taxila in the fields. They are all copper and of a smaller denomination than those that have been so far published. After examining them, I found that they would be giving us a clearer idea of the mechanical process of copying than those published already. With the kind consent of Mr. Ghosh, I have, therefore, decided to publish them here.

On all the published coins of this type, as observed already, there is a certain recognisable resemblance between the features of Hermaios and those of the bust appearing on the later imitations. The most remarkable thing about the five coins that are published here is that in most cases the features of the busts bear hardly any resemblance to those of Hermaios. The features of **Pl. IB, 1** have perhaps some resemblance with that of the latter. But in the case of **Pl. IB, 2,** the bust is facing front, which is not the case with the prototype or with any coins of this type published so far. In the case of **Pl. IB, 3** the bust seems to be in imitation of the well-known Roman bust,

which appears on one of the types of Kujula Kadphises. The reverse of this coin, however, does not show the king seated right on a seat-like curule chair with right arm extended, as is the case with the Roman bust type, but Heracles standing, which occurred on the proto-type of Hermaios. In the case of **Pl IB, 4** the resemblance between the features of the coin and those of Hermaios is too remote to be readily recognised. The climax of barbarousness is perhaps reached in **Pl IB, 5.** The king seems to be wearing a cap with dotted borders. He faces right, as is the case with the Heramios' bust in the proto-type; but he has very thick lips and a very long and prominent nose. There is no similarity whatsoever between his features and those of Hermaios.

The crudeness of art, the absence of any recognisable resemblance in features, and the total degradation of the Greek legend on the obverse make it clear that these coins could not have been issued as a joint coinage of Hermaios and Kujula Kadphises. They were obviously issued some decades after the passing away of Hermaios, whose coin type is soguht to be continued on them. It is interesting to note that the degeneration on the reverse, where the name of Kujula occurs in Kharoshṭhi, is not so great as that on the obverse, where Greek letters and an unfamiliar and much degraded bust had to be imitated. Heracles on the reverse, however, is clear on all the five coins; the club is easily recognisable; only the lion's skin hanging down from the left hand has not been properly represented.

The British Museum Catalogue and *The Indian Museum Catalogue* do not record the weight of the coins of the Hermaios-Kadphises type published in them. The Punjab Museum coins of this type vary in size from ·9 to ·95 inch, and their weights vary from 97 to 156 grains. The coins of the present lot are smaller both in size and weight. The weight of the heaviest among them, **Pl. IB. 2,** is only 87 grains and that of the highest, **Pl. IB, 4,** is 40 grains. This will show that the type was issued in several denominations.

If the Parthian rulers succeeded the Indo-Bactrians in the Kabul valley and Taxila, and if the Hermaios type was so popular there as to render its imitation obligatory for the Kushānas, we may well ask as to why this type was not imitated by the Indo-Parthian rulers who were the immediate successors of the Greeks. The reason is not far to seek. It is now well recognised that the Indo-Parthian rulers, Azes, Azilises, Gondopharnes, etc. entered India through the Bolon pass and gradually extended their power up the Indus in the course of time. In the districts and provinces of India, which they conquered first, the Hermaios type was not current.

The little kingdom of Harmaios did not extend to the middle or lower Indus. The Indo-Parthian conquerors, therefore, did not come into contact with this type till a late period of their career, when they succeeded in conquering Taxila and the Kabul valley. By this time they had already established their normal coin type, king on the horseback on the obverse and some deity on the reverse. They were not prepared to change it for the convenience of the residents of a new province recently added to their kingdom. The case of the Kushānas was however different. They entered India via Khaibar pass. They had no coinage, or script of their own. When they conquered the Kabul valley, they found it necessary to issue coinage for their new subjects, whe were long accustomed to it. Having no numismatic traditions of their own, they naturally preferred to mechanically imitate a type which was current in the Kabul valley. It appears that in some important cities, in spite of the intervening rule of about 75 years of the Parthians, some mint mechanics were left, who were familiar with the old Greek traditions and methods. They manufactured coins of the types already published in the British Museum, the Indian Museum and the Punjab Museum Catalogues, which bear a fairly close resemblance to the original prototype. In some places, however, the artists were quite new to the task and unfamiliar to the methods. They could manufacture coins of a very rude type only, like those which are being published in this paper. Some of them knew neither Greek nor Kharoshṭhi scripts. They were responsible for manufacturing coins like **Pl. I B, 5** of this paper.

We close this paper with a description of the coins. We have to add that the photographs are in some cases slightly smaller in size than the originals.

Coin No. 1. Metal, copper; size, more oval than circular, ·6″ ·75″; weight, 81 grains.

Obverse: bust of the king facing right, head having large hair, some falling down to the shoulders; traces of circular Greek legend; it is merely an unintelligent copy of some of the letters of the original legend. Letters λ and γ are visible at ix.

Reverse: Heracles, proudly standing, facing front; club in right hand; lion's skin, clumsily represented, falling from the left. **Pl. I B, 1.**

Coin No. 2. Metal, copper; size roughly circular ·7″ in diameter; weight, 87 grains.

Obverse: Traces of a rude bust facing front, having no resemblance to any face of Hermaios. Traces of some letters of the Greek legend, [KOZO] λO K[AΔϕIC].

Reverse: Heracles, as on No. 1, but not so proud in his demeanour; three letters *Kujula* of the legend *Kujula Kashasa Kuśhānayavugasa dhramaṭhitasa,* beginning at xii. **Pl. I B, 2.**

Coin No. 3. Metal, copper; size circular, but truncated at the bottom; 7″ in diameter; weight, 70 grains.

Obverse: Bust of the king resembling more that of Augustus than that of Hermaios; some traces of Greek letters in the upper left corner.

Reverse: Heracles standing as on No. 1 and 2. The original coin shows traces of the letters *julaka* of the legend mentioned above; being blurred they have not come on the plate. **Pl. I. B, 3.**

Coin No. 4. Metal, copper; size, roughly circular, 7″ in diameter; weight, 40 grains.

Obverse: Bust of the king, but not similar to any on the earlier three coins; traces of Greek legend.

Reverse: as above; traces of Kharoshṭhi legend on the right side. **Pl. I B, 4.**

Metal, copper; size, circular, ·6″ in diameter; weight, 42 grains.

Obverse: bust of the king facing right; lips thick, nose very long; the king wears a cap with a peculiar double dotted border; some traces of Greek legend.

Reverse: Heracles, as on above coins; no traces of Kharoshṭhi legend **Pl. IB, 5.**

A NEW SPECIMEN OF THE BOW IN-BOW-CASE TYPE OF MAUES.

By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares.

One of the rarest types of the coins of King Maues, who was one of the earliest Scythian invaders of north-western India, is the one which has Horse to right on the obverse and a Bow in Bow-case on the reverse. The British Museum Catalouge of the coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of India and Bactria describes (p. 72) a coin of this type but does not illustrate it. Cunninghum has published a coin of this type in his *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, p. 33, and Pl. 11, 15. A third specimen was published in the *P. M. C.* I, p. 103 and Pl. X, 35. A fourth coin of the type was found in the Taxila excavations and published in *A. S. R.* 1914–5, Pl. XXV, 18. I am publishing today a 5th specimen of this type, recently aquired for the cabinet of the Benares Hindu University from Mr. Govinda Ram, a coin-dealer of Rawalpindi.

The present type throws a considerable light on the career and nationality of Maues. This ruler is so far known to have issued 24 coin types. Only on three of them do we find the smaller legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΑγογ; all the rest have the fuller legend, ΒΣΙλΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙλΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑλογ ΜΑγογ, attesting to the imperial position of the issuer.

Three types of Maues, where the legend is shorter, are the following:—

1. Elephant's Head and the Caduceus type, which is in imitation of the coins of Demetrios.

2. The Apollo and Tripod type, which is in imitation of a well-known type issued by Apollodotus.

3. The Bow in Bow-case type which is in imitation of the well-known type of Arsaces, illustrated in *B. M. C.*, XXXII, 12.

It is now generally admitted that Maues was originally in the service of the Parthians, and entered India perhaps as their general or viceroy through the Bolon pass. The three types mentioned above throw interesting light on the career of this military adventurer. Of these types the 3rd one, a new specimen of which is being illustrated in this paper, was probably issued by Maues, earliest in his career while he was still recognising the suzerainty of the Parthians and had not yet launched upon a career of expansion towards India.

He was perhaps still somewhere in Seistan or Baluchistan, and professed to be merely a viceroy and therefore issued a type in close imitation of that of Arsaces Theos, illustrated in *B. M. C.*, XXXII, 12. There is a striking resemlance between this prototype and the coin we are publishing today. Both have on the obverse Horse to right and a Greek legend. In the case of the prototype, the legend is longer and gives the full devine title of the founder of the Arsekidan family. Maues however was still a subordinate viceroy and had to be content with the simple legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΑγογ. He dare not assume any imperial titles as long as Mithradates the Great was living, i.e. down to *c.* 88 B. C. In the case of the reverse of the prototype of our coin, there is Bow in Bow-case in a border of fillet. Maues retained the central type, but replaced the ornamental fillet border by a Kharoshṭhi legend, in order that the type should conform to the established practice in India.

The present coin was probably issued by Maues very early in his career. That is probably the reason why the type is so rare. Probably it prevailed in Seistan for a while, and it is not unlikely that its present specimen reached Rawalpindi from that locality.

Lower and Middle Indus regions were the first ones to be annexed by Maues. It is well-known how Demetrios and Apollodotus had either jointly or severally annexed this territory during the period of the expansion of the Bactrian power. The coins of these rulers must have been quite common in the lower and middle Indus valley, and it is but natural that Maues should have imitated their coins and of nobody else. It is very likely that these two coin-types were issued by Maues early in his career, when he still dare not assume imperial titles owing to his relations with his powerful suzerain Mithradates the Great.

As, however, Maues became more and more powerful owing to larger and larger additions to his kingdom, and as he went further and further out of the reach of his imperial overlord, he discarded all these three types, where we find him content with the simple title Basileos, and issuing numerous new types, with full imperial titles, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑλογ ΜΑγογ.

The present type of coin is thus an important document throwing light on the earlier and humbler stage of the career of Maues. I am therefore publishing its fifth known specimen.

Metal, copper ; size, rectangular, ·75″ × .6″ ; weight, 75 grains.

Obverse : Horse walking to right ; Greek legend ; on the right, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ to be read from inside the coin ; on the left, ΜΑγογ, to be read from outside the coin.

Reverse : Bow in Bow-case ; Kharoshṭhi legend ; on the right *maharajasa* ; on the left *Moasa*, both to be read from inside the coin ; Greek monogram N with a vertical line cutting across its slanting line. **Pl. IB, 6.**

As compared to the P. M. coin, this coin is smaller, being ·75″ × ·6″, the former being a square of ·8″. Its weight is, however, nine grains more than that of the P. M. The horse is hardly recognisable on the P. M. coin ; it is quite distinct on the present one. The legent ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ has not been preserved at all on the P. M. coin ; it is fairly clear on our piece. The name of the king, however, Mayoy is a little clearer on the P. M. coin. The Kharoshṭhi legend as well as the Greek monogram on the reverse are much better preserved on our coin than on the P. M. piece.

The B. M. coin being not illustrated cannot be fully compared. Like the P. M. coin it is square and not rectangular ; it has got the same legends and monogram. We do not know the state of its preservation.

A COIN OF LAKHAṆA (?) UDAYADITYA.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BANARES.

The history of the Hūṇas is still shrowded in considerable obscurity. Two of their rulers, Toramāṇa and Mihirakula are well-known to us from their coinage; they are also referred to in inscriptions and literature. There were however a number of other Hūṇa rulers, ruling in the Punjab and Rajputana, who are known to us only from their coinage. Their time and location is still uncertain.

Among the kings of this category is Rājā Lakhaṇa (?) Udayāditya. So far he was known to us only from two coins, which were published long ago in 1838 in Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I, p. 411. Thomas, who has edited these essays, tells us that these coins belonged to the collection of Col. Abbot of the Bengal army, mainly gathered from the Hazara district of the N. W. F. P., of which he was in political charge.

No numismatic work or catalogue has subsequently published any coins of this mysterious ruler. I was therefore glad to get a coin of his from a dealer in Rawalpindi during my visit to the place in the Christmas of 1945. The coin was purchased for the Benares Hindu University and is kept in its cabinet. It is being published for its rarity.

Like the earlier two coins, the present one is also in silver. It is a thin and broad piece; its weight is 57 grains. It is circular in size with a diameter of 1. 1."; the obv. side in the photograph in the plate is slightly bigger than the original.

The coin may be described as follows:—

Obverse: within dotted circular border, there is the bust of the king facing right. The king wears a peculiar conical cap; a crescent overlaps its front side, as on the other two coins of this ruler. A diadem is wound round the cap and its ends are hanging down behind the head. An earring of three pearls hangs down the ear and there is a pearl necklace round the neck. The features of the king are similar to those on his two earlier coins, but they look older than those on the wood-cut No. 3 of Prinsep. The legend is *Rājā La*...on the left side and *Udayāditya* on the right. The two letters following *La* are unfortunately blurred on the present coin and so we cannot say whether the name of the king was Lamaṇa or Lakhaṇa as thought by Thomas or Latoṇa or Lanoṇa as conjecturor by Drouin. If Lae-lih was the pioneer Hūṇa

conquered, his coins would not show so much Indianisation as to include a full-fledged Brāhmī legend and a Hindu title.

Reverse : This side is blurred, but the photograph shows clear traces of an altar with an attendant on either side. The reverse of the two earlier coins of this ruler published in *Prinsep's Essays* has not been illustrated. But probably they also had the same objects.

Pl. I B, 7.

There is considerable uncertainty about the time and identity of this ruler. The Chinese sources inform us that the leader of the Hūṇa invasion which snatched away the kingdom of Gandhāra from the Kidāra Kushānas was Lae-lih and one suggestion is that Lakhaṇa of the coins may be identified with this king. This view does not seem very probable. It is not likely that at so early an age, the Indianisation of the coin type could have advanced so far as we see on the coins of Udayāditya. The coins of the early Huṇa period were like those published by Whitehead in *J. A. S. B.*, 1913, p. 481 ff. where we find either the Pahlavi legend alone or that legend with a few Brāhmī letters only and the Hindu symbols like conch, wheel, etc. It must have taken some time for the solitary Brāhmī letters to be replaced by the full-fledged Brāhmī legend. On the present coin we have also the Hindu title Udayāditya. When we remember how neither Toramāṇa nor Mihirakula took any such Hindu title, it becomes difficult to hold that Udayāditya of our coins was a predecessor of these rulers. We should therefore place him sometime after *c.* 550 A. D. A Kashmir king named Raja Lahkhaṇa belonging to the Hūṇa stock is mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* ; but his *biruda* is Narendrāditya and not Udayāditya. It is not at present possible to determine his relationship with Lakhaṇa Udayāditya.

SOME RARE AND INTERESTING INDO-BACTRIAN COINS.

By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares.

The coins that form the subject matter of this paper belong to the collection of Mr. D. D. Ghosal, 85 Tantipara Lane, Santragachhi, Howrah. Mr. Ghosal was kind enough to send to me a large number of his Indo-Bactrian coins for inspection and publication, if found to be worth publishing. As the genuineness of the Indo-Bactrian coins is a subject upon which even experts differ frequently, I requested the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the former Director-General of Archaeology in India, to examine the coins separately and arrive at his indpendent conclusions. In spite of his illness, which unfortunately proved fatal, Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit kindly agreed to do so. After separate and independent examination, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit and I came to the conclusion that the eight coins that are being published in this paper are both genuine and rare and therefore worth publishing. I am accordingly publishing them here. I am indebted to Mr. Ghosal for allowing the coins to remain with me and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit for a considerable time to suit our other preoccupations. If all private collectors show equal interest in getting their coins scrutinised and published, there is no doubt that numismatic and historic studies will progress more rapidly.

A DIDRACHM OF EPANDER.[1]

Metal, silver; size, circular; diameter, 1.05″; weight, 141 grains.

Obverse: Helmeted bust of the king facing right, crest falling behind the helmet.
Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗφΟΡΟγ, below, ΕΠΑΝΔΡΟγ.

Reverse: Pallas facing left, hurling thunderbolt by right hand; aegis on the left arm. Kharoshṭhī legend, *Maharajasa jayadharasa*; below, *Ipandrasa* Pl. II, 1

1. The term didrachm is used here to denote the silver coins of about 150 grains issued by later Indo-Bactrian rulers. The hemidrachm is taken to denote the silver pieces of about 38 grains issued by them. Some numismatists describe these coins as tetradrachms and drachms respectively of a lower weight standard. According to the early standard, a drachm was of 67.2 grains and a tetradrachm of about 269 grains.

This is the first didrachm of Epander to be published and the coin is therefore unique so far. *B. M. C.* publishes and illustrates only a bronze coin of this ruler at p. 51 ; in the supplement a broken silver hemidrachm is described at p. 169 and illustrated on Pl. XXXI, 13. The *P. M. C.* publishes and illustrates a hemidrachm in entire condition (Pl. VI, 516), but has no didrachm. The present coin is therefore unique so far.

The features of the king on the present piece are similar to those on the hemidrachm published in the *P. M. C.*, VI, 516. Both the coins have an identical monogram.

Two years ago, Mr. Siri Chand, a coin dealer of Rawalpindi, had offered me for sale a didrachm, exactly similar to the one in the collection of Mr. Ghosal. It also had the bust of the king facing right and had on the reverse Pallas facing left and hurling thunderbolt. I cannot now recollect whether that coin had the same monogram as the present one.

A TETRADRACHM OF PLATO.

Tetradrachms of Plato are very rare. There is only one tetradrachm of this ruler in the British Museum, (*Catalogue*, VI, 11), and none in the Punjab or the Indian Museum.

The tetradrachm in Mr Ghosal's collection is, therefore, one of the rare Indo-Greek pieces. Both its obverse and reverse are better preserved than is the case with the British Museum specimen.

Metal, silver ; size, roughly circular ; diameter, 1·3″; weight, 250 grains.

Obverse : within fillet border, helmeted bust of the king to right, the helmet having a crest falling behind ; ears and horns of the bull on the helmet. Both ends of the diadem fall down under the helmet. The shoulder is covered with drapery. No legend.

Reverse : Sun-god Helios facing right, with rays issuing from his head, and driving a quadriga. The deity is clad in chiton and chlamys. Monogram in front of the deity. Below the feet of horses in exergue, MI only. Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΠΙ ϕΑΝΟΥΣ ΠχΛΤΩΝΟΣ

Pl. II, 2

The weight of the present coin is only one grain more than that of the B. M. coin. The features of the king on it are similar to those on the B. M. piece ; but they are much clearer and sharper. The crest over the shoulder is clearer and more voluminous ; one can, therefore, see clearly and distinctly the winding and coiled wires of which it is made and which go on

thinning towards the end. The border on the obverse on both the coins is similar.

The reverse has the same monogram as the B. M. piece. The legend is better preserved and more distinct. The most important point in which the present coin differs from the B. M. piece is in its having only two letters in the exergue instead of the three in the B. M. piece. We have only M and I; the initial P is altogether absent.

Can it be argued that the present coin is a forgery by a die-cutter who failed to notice the indistinct letter P on the B. M. piece? I think not. Both Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit and myself fail to find anything suspicious about the coin. The presence of two letters only in the exergue is not suspicious; M and I would give us the date 47 instead of 147 which would be given by PMI. This is just like the modern practice of omitting hundreds while giving the date and month; we usually date our letters, say as 1-12-47, when we mean 1-12-1947. It is interesting to note in this connection that on some of the coins of Heliocles, which are also apparently dated in the Seleuciden era, we have only two letters in the exergue instead of three. Thus on the *B. M. C*, Pl. VII, 3, we have in the exergue πτ only, perhaps standing for 83, and referring the king to the year 183 of the Seleucid era, corresponding to 130 B. C. The same is the case with B. M. coin No. 5, referred to at p. 21 of the *Catalogue*, but not illustrated.

There is a close similarity between the coins of Plato and Eucratides. The portraits of both are strikingly similar. In his most popular type, Eucratides also bears a similar helmet with crest falling behind and adorned with the horns and ears of the bull. This last was a Seleucid device, pointing to a close connection between these two rulers and the contemporary Seleucid house. The title Epiphanoys taken by Plato is obviously borrowed from that of Antiochos IV, probably after his death. The device of Dioscuri charging on the reverse of the coins of Eucratides presents an appearance not dissimilar to that of Helios driving the quadriga on the coins of Plato.

There is no doubt that Plato and Eucratides were contemporaries and closely connected. Plato may have been either a rival of Eucratides or his subordinate. Very probably the latter was the case.

The well-known tetradrachm with the bust and name of Eucratides on the obverse and the conjugate busts of Haliokles and Laodice along with their names on the reverse has been usually interpreted to suggest that Heliocles and Laodice were the parents of Eucratides, the latter being a Seleucid princess and the former a commoner. The name Heliocles

is after the sun deity Helios. We have got the sun deity Helios on the reverse of the two tetradrachms of Plato, driving in a quadriga. Can it be that the presence of the deity on the reverse was suggested by the name of the father of the striker? In that case we can well assume that both Eucratides and Plato were the sons of Heliocles, who fought together against Demetrius and his party. The similarity of their features and coin types makes this conjecture very probable. Plato seems to have been the younger brother and may have issued his coins either after his elder brother's death or during his life-time with his special permission. The date on Plato's coins, 147 of the Seleucid era, corresponding to 165 B. C., suggests that the coins concerned may well have been issued in the life-time of his elder brother, who is quite likely to have continued to rule even after that date.

A HELMETED DIDRACHM OF ARCHEBIOS.

Metal, silver; size, circular; diameter, 1″; weight, 148 grains.

Obverse: Bust of the king to right, wearing a helmet with crest; Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, below ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ

Reverse: Zeus standing facing, sceptre in right hand and brandishing thunderbolt with the left; Kharoshṭhī legend, *Maharajasa dhramikasa jayadharasa, below Archebiyasa.* Monogram.

Pl. II, 3.

The didrachms of Archebios are rather rare. There is none in the Punjab Museum, and the *British Museum Catalogue* has illustrated only two. In one case the king is diademed and facing right, (Pl. IX. 1) and in the other he is facing left, helmeted and thrusting a javelin (Pl. IX. No. 4). A didrachm with helmeted bust to right was unknown till 1923, when three of its specimens were published by Mr. R. B. Whitehead in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of that year Pl. XIV. 11, 12 and 14. One of these didrachms, (Pl. XIV, 14) had the additional word KAI between DIKAIOY NIKHΦOROY. The same is the case with the present coin.

The face of the king is similar to that seen on *B. M. C.*, Pl. IX, No. 4 and the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, Pl. XIV, No. 14. The monogram occurring on the present coin is to be seen on the coin of this ruler illustrated in *B. M. C.*, IX, No. 1. The weight of the *B.M.C.*, Pl. IX, No. 1 is 139 grains and of No. 4 it is 147·6 grains. Our didrachm weighs 148 grains.

STRATO I

The career and coinage of Strato I is perhaps more interesting than that of any other Indo-Bactrian ruler. It covers a period of about 65 to 70 years; it began at a time when the expansion of the Greek power under the house of Eucratides was still going on; it ended on the eve of the complete overthrow of the Greek power in the eastern Punjab by the Śakas. The coinage of Strato shows his portrait at many more different stages of life than is the case with any other ruler. We can see his features at the age of about 20, 25, 30, 35, 40, 50 and 70; his portrait at the last stage is that of an old man with sunken cheeks and teethless jaws. In his middle age he had developed a taste for the beard also; for on one of his didrachms, we can see him with a beard as well (*C. H. I.*, Vol. I, Pl. VII, No. 21).

For many years didrachms of this ruler were rather rare. The *British Museum Catalogue* publishes only one (X, 10), and the same is the case with the *Punjab Museum Catalogue*, Pl. V, 355. Later on Mr. Whitehead obtained a large number of his tetradrachms believed to be from one hoard and ten of them were published by him in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, Pls. XV and XVI.

I publish today two tetradrachms of this ruler which are interesting in their own ways.

HELMETED BUST DIDRACHM OF STRATO I.

Metal, silver; size, circular; diameter, 1″; weight, 148 grains.

Obverse: Bust of the king to right, wearing helmet with crest; ends of the diadem falling down under the helmet; Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ; below ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ

Reverse: Pallas to left hurling thunderbolt with right hand, aegis over the left. Monogram. Kharosṭhī legend, *Maharajasa pratichhasa tratarasa Stratasa.*

Pl. II, 4.

This tetradrachm is similar to the one published in *B. M. C.* X, No. 10 but it is in a much better condition than the latter, and therefore weighs about 15 grains more. In the B. M. piece, the Greek legend on the left side and the Kharoshṭhī legend on the right side have not been well preserved; on the coin being published here, the whole legend is very well preserved. The monogram on the present coin is also different from that on the B. M. piece or on the Punjab Museum didrachm; it is however not unknown to the coinage of Strato, because it occurs on one of the copper coins of this

ruler described but not illustrated in the *B. M. C.*; see Strato's coin No. 14, p. 41. It also occurs on some of the didrachms of this ruler published by Mr. R. B. Whitehead in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, p. 328.

DIADEMED BUST DIDRACHM OF STRATO I.

Diademed bust with thrusting javelin-type.

Metal, silver; size circular; diameter, 1″; weight, 145 grains.

Obverse: diademed bust of the king facing left and thrusting javelin; one end of the falling diadem above the fist and the other below it; Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ; below ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ

Reverse: Pallas to left hurling thunderbolt with her right hand; aegis on the left hand; Kharoshṭhī legend *Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasa*; monogram.

Pl. II, 5.

This didrachm is in many respects a very interesting coin. Didrachms of Strato with the king thrusting javelin are rare. Neither the *B. M. C.* nor the *P. M. C.* nor the *Cambridge History of India* has illustrated any variety of them. In the Kabul find coins published by Mr. R. B. Whitehead in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, he publishes and illustrates one didrachm of Strato, where the king is helmeted and thrusting javelin. This coin has been illustrated on Pl. XV. 13. But Mr. R. B. Whitehead has referred to a didrachm of this ruler, where the king is diademed and facing left and is thrusting javelin. He did not illustrate this coin as it was in a very poor condition. Our present didrachm exactly corresponds to the description of the piece not illustrated by Mr. Whitehead. It, therefore, appears to be the first coin of its type to be published.

It is possible to suspect the genuineness of this coin on account of the features of the ruler. The art is rather poor and the features are also strikingly different from those on the didrachm illustrated just before (**Pl II. 4**). We have however to remember that the features of this ruler on his different didrachms show striking difference. Thus *P. M. C.* Pl. V, 356 has features different from those on No. 359 of the same plate. *C. H. I.* Pl. VII, No. 20 is different in features from No. 21 of the same plate. We cannot, therefore, impugn the genuineness of the coin merely on that account. Strato lived in difficult and unsettled times, and it is just possible that all mint-masters in his long life may not have succeeded in giving

an exact representation of his features on the different dies struck by them. It is a pity that Mr. Whitehead did not illustrate the only other coin of this type so far known to exist; in that case we could have compared the features as well as the monograms of the two pieces. It may however be pointed out that the features of the present portrait to some extent recall those on the *P. M. C.*, Pl. V, 359. In the latter case the king is a blooming youth; in the present case he looks a little lean and careworn.

The monogram on the present coin is also interesting. It does not occur on any of the coins of this ruler so far published. Nor does it occur in the list of the Indo-Greek monograms published by Mr. R. B. Whitehead in his *P. M. C.* Vol. I.

A TETRADRACHM OF EUTHYDEMUS II.

Tetradrachms of Euthydemus II are rather rare. There is one in the Punjab Museum and one in the British Museum. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit and myself are not quite sure about the genuineness of the third tetradrachm of this ruler that is being published here; we, however, feel that it is more likely to be genuine than otherwise. The face is rather dull and has a frosty appearance; it lacks sharpness and distinctness and so gives rise to some doubt. The features are also to some extent dissimilar to those appearing on the two tetradrachms so far illustrated. Its weight however is the same as that of the two published tetradrachms.

The features of the king on the published tetradrachms are those of a youth of about 25. On the present coin he appears to be a careworn ruler of about 35. This coin would, therefore, tend to show that Euthydemus II did not die early in his life during his father's internecine struggle with Eucratides. He appears to have lived for at least a decade after his father's death and may have led a precarious existence in some hilly district of the Punjab or Afghanistan.

I shall now describe the coin.

Metal, silver; size, roughly circular; diameter, 1·2″; weight, 260 grains.

Obverse: within dotted border diademed bust of the king facing right: no legend.

Reverse: young and naked Heracles facing, ivy crowned; he holds a wreath of ivy in right hand and a club in the left, from which lion's skin is hanging down. There is an object like a sword immediately below the club between the left leg of the deity and the hanging lion's skin.

Pl II 6

The sword like object below the club is to be seen also on the two published specimens of this ruler, but it is much more distinct on the present coin.

The monogram of the present coin is the same as that on the two earlier ones.

I publish now two more tetradrachms of Philoxenus which are not unpublished, but which have some interesting points about them.

PHILOXENOS: HELMETED BUST TYPE.

Metal, silver; size, circular; diameter, 1″; weight, 150 grains.

Obverse : king facing right with helmet having the ears and horns of a bull on it ; crest behind the helmet. Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΕ ΑΝΗΚΗΤΟΥ, below ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ

Reverse : king riding on prancing horse marching right, both helmeted and diademed. Monogram under the horse ; Kharoshṭhī legend, *Maharajasa apaḍihatasa Philasinasa.* **Pl II, 7**

The monogram on the present coin is so far known to have occurred only on his square hemidrachms e.g. B.M.C., XIII. 5). This is the first round diadrachm of the helmeted bust type to show this monogram. It occurs on the diadrachm in the *P. M. C.* VII, 576, but it has a diademed bust of the king.

PHILOXENOS: DIADEMED BUST TYPE.

Metal, silver ; size circular, diameter 1″ ; weight, 148 grains.

Obverse : bust of the king facing right, wearing a diadem ; Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ below ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ

Reverse : on prancing horse marching right, helmeted and diademed king. The king can be clearly seen holding the reins of the horse. Under the horse, the same monogram as on **Pl II, 7**. above. Circular Kharoshṭhī legend, *Maharajasa apadihatasa Philasinasa.*

Pl II, 8

This coin is identical in type with that published in *P.M.C.* VII, 576. Only the diadem arrangement is slightly different. There are two ways in which the falling ends of the diadem are shown on the coins of this ruler. In some cases both the ends are shown falling down parallel to each other as on the present coin and in *P. M. C.* XIII. 5, 7 and *P. M. C.* VII. 583 ; sometimes the upper end is deliberately raised to form a peak, as on Pl. II. 7 above and *B. M. C.* XIII. 6 and *P. M. C.* VII. 576, 577.

A NEW DIDRACHM OF NIKIAS.

By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares Hindu University.

Nikias is one of the Indo-Bactrian rulers of the later period, whose history is shrouded in considerable mystery. His coinage and coin types suggest that he was closely connected with Hippostratus. Both have issued coins of the prancing horse type and the Dolphin type (suggesting a naval victory); the new square forms of sigma and omega occur on the coins of both along with the earlier round forms.

Silver coins of this ruler are still rare. The *B. M. C.* publishes no coins of this king in the white metal. The *I. M. C.* has only one hemi-drachm ; it has a diademed bust of the king to r. on the obverse and a warrior fully accoutred to l. on the reverse. In 1923, Mr. Whitehead published in *Numismatic Chronicle* a new hemidrachm, similar to the one in the *P. M. C.*, but differing only in having the king helmeted instead of diademed ; see Pl. XVI. 13.

The third silver coin of this king was published in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1940, pp. 108-9. It was a didrachm, having on the obverse diademed bust of the king and on the reverse, Athena facing and brandishing sword and thunderbolt. Its weight was 145.5 grains and size 1·1″ in diameter. The Greek letters on it were in the earlier and rounded form.

I am publishing today the 4th silver coin of this ruler. It is a didrachm and belongs to the valuable collection of Dewan Bahadur Radhakrishna Jalan of Patna. It was purchased by him in 1947 at my request from a dealer in Rawalpindi.

The new didrachm resembles the one published in 1940 in the *Numismatic Chronicle* in all respects, except that it shows the king helmeted and not diademed. The legend on the obverse is the same ; on the reverse also we have the same deity Athena facing and brandishing thunderbolt by her right hand, and holding aegis over the left. The monogram on the new diadrachm is the same as that which occurs on the helmeted hemidrachm published in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, Pl. XVI, 13. I shall now describe the coin.

Metal, silver ; size, 1.1″ ; weight 158 grains.

Obverse : Helmeted bust of the king to right ; crest over the helmet ; both ends of the diadem hanging down ; shoulder covered with drapery.
Legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ
below, ΝΙΚΙΟΥ

Reverse : Athena facing ; right hand raised up and brandishing thunderbolt ; left hand folded and covered with aegis. Monogram formed by two letters V, crossing each other, one facing up and the other facing down.
Kharoshṭhī legend ; above, *Maharajasa tratarasa* below *Nikiasa*. Pl III, 1

A RUDE IMITATION COIN OF HELIOKLES.

By Satish Chandra Kala, M. A., Curator,
Allahabad Museum.

In the collection of the proposed Museum at Pauri in the Garhwal district of U. P. there is an interesting coin type of Heliockles. The coin was acquired by the writer in the year 1939 in a village near the Dharmājika Stūpa at Taxila and remained with him till his entire collection was presented to the Museum. When purchased the coin was in an excellent state of preservation. On enquiring about its provenance he was informed that the coin was found in the spoil earth which was removed in the excavations of the Dharmarājika Stūpa at Taxila.

The coin is a barbarous imitation in copper. It is not strictly round. The edges are roughly cut. On the obverse there is found the bust of the king encircled by an astralogous border. The bust shows a robust human type. On the reverse there is the standing figure of Zeus holding a thunderbolt in his right hand. His left hand holds a long sceptre which is resting on the ground. The legend is ;—

Left, HAIIλEΣυ

Below, DIK[AIOY]

Right, [B]AEλE(ΩE) **Pl, III, 2**

The name of the king is blundered on this coin as on other coins of this type now in the coin cabinet of the Central Museum, Lahore, and also like the bronze imitations of this ruler in the British Museum. The figure of Zeus on the present coin and those in the British Museum are similar.

The monogram on the present coin is different from others known so far. It is, therefore, a different variety and is thus worth noting.

1. Whitehead—*Catalogue of the coins in the Punjab Museum Pl.* III, pp. 138-9.
2. Gardner—*Catalogue of the coins in the British Museum,* p. 22.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

Mr. Kala's claim that the coin constitutes a new variety of the coinage of Heliokles is not justified. The monogram does not appear on the genuine coins of Heliokles published in the *B. M. C.* or the *P. M. C.* But the present coin does not belong to that category. It was issued some time after the overthrow of Heliokles by one of his Scythian opponents. Barbarous imitations issued by these Scythian chiefs are described along with the coins of Heliokles in the *B. M. C.*, but it does not mention the monograms occurring on them. Nor does it illustrate this type. So we do not know whether any of the B. M. coins have the present monogram or not. Cunningham has, however, published a coin exactly similar to the present one in his *Later Indo-Scythians* Pl. 1 no. 10. The size, the weight and the deity on both the pieces are identical, as also the monogram. The present type is illustrated only in Cunningham's *Later Indo-Scythians*, which is out of print ; the coin is, therefore, worth publishing and illustrating.

It is also interesting from its findspot. Cunningham has observed in the above work, "Only a few stray specimens (of rude imitations of Greek coins) are found in the Kabul valley and none in the Punjab" p. 302. The present coin, however, was found in the spoil earth of the Taxila excavations. It would thus be the first coin among the barbarous imitations of the Greek coins to be found in India. It is important from this point of view. It tends to show that some of these barbarous imitations were current in India along with the regular coins issued by Maues, Azes and other Scythian rulers.

SOME VARIETIES OF TAXILA COINS.

By Mr. M. K. Thakore, B. A., LL. B.

Bombay Civil Service (Jdl.), Civil Judge, Kopargaon.

The following uninscribed copper coins of Taxila are not represented in Allan's *Catalogue of Ancient Coins in the British Museum,* and so far as I am aware, they have not been published before and hence deserve notice.[1]

No.	Obverse	Reverse
No. 1.	Crude representation of a plant and Crescented Hill.	Crescented Hill and *nandipada*
	Wt. 44·44 grains	S. ·6″

Pl. III, 3.

The first symbol on the obverse, 'a crude representation of the elaborate plant,' and the second symbol on the reverse *nandipada,* are found in varieties *c* and *d,* Class 3 of the *B.M.C.* In var. *c,* the plant appears on the obverse with three more symbols and the *nandipada* on the reverse also with three other symbols. The crescented hill is common to both the sides as on the present coin. In var. *d,* the plant is on the reverse with hill and a small *svastika,* while the *nandipada* is on the obverse with hill and another symbol, looking like the Brāhmī letter *ryya.* The coins of this variety are square. The present coin however is round and similar in fabric and weight to the coins of var. *c, d,* and *e* of Class, 4 of the *B.M.C.*

No.	Obverse	Reverse
No. 2.	Crescented Hill and Mauryan *ma.*	Mauryan *ma* and Crescented Hill
	Wt. 44·12 grains	S. ·6″

Pl. III, 4.

This is only a variation of the *B.M.C.,* Var. *e,* Class 4, the order of the symbols on the reverse being reversed.

There is another coin of this type with me which is smaller, being only 24·82 grains in weight and ·5″ in size.

No.	Obverse	Reverse
No. 3.	Crude Elephant to left; Mauryan *ma* in the upper corner.	Crescented Hill in the upper left corner; below,

1. I am indebted to Dr. A. S. Altekar for his kind suggestions in preparing this note.

hollow cross; to the right a tree and in the centre at the top Mauryan *ma*.

Wt. 30·56 grains. S. ·5″.

Pl. III, 5.

I think that the animal on the obverse is certainly elephant.[1] In front of the elephant, in the upper corner, is Mauryan *ma*. The reverse has a combination of four symbols, out of which three, the crescented hill, the hollow cross and the Mauryan *ma* are well-known Taxila symbols. The crescented hill in the left upper corner is not clear. Below it is the hollow cross, about which there can be no doubt. To the right is the fourth symbol, a tree which is of a type not yet met with. In the centre at the top between the hill and the tree is Mauryan *ma*. In view of the symbols, the coin can be assigned to Taxila with a fair amount of certainty.

No.	Obverse	Reverse
4.	Bull to right	Within ornamented square border a peculiar symbol clear in the plate.

Wt. 25·23 grains S. 54.″

Pl. III, 6.

B.M.C. varieties *f*, *g*, *h*, *i* and *j* of class 5 represent bull or bulls on the obverse. Vars. *f* and *g* have plain reverse, var. *h*, has the same symbols on the reverse as on the obverse, while vars. *i* and *j* have lion on the reverse. The bull on all these coins however is of a different type. The bull on the present coin appears to be similar to the bull on the gold coin No. 169, Class IV of the *B.M.C.* There is however no Taxila symbol along with the bull.

B.M.C. varieties, *c* and *d* Class I, have on the obverse the plan of a courtyard of a monastery with cells around and *stūpa* in the centre, and the plan of a monastery with *stūpa* at its centre, respectively. I wonder if the present symbol is a type of monastery with a *stūpa* in the centre. Dr. Altekar has suggested that it may be an altar or an ornamented *Tulasī-vṛindāvana* (without plant), both of which appear on Gupta coins. The only reason why I would assign this coin to Taxila is the presence of the bull and the provenance of the coin.

[1. The animal is too indistinct to be made out in the photograph or the plate. A. S. A.]

[A coin of exactly this type has been included in the *British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of India and Bactria*, on Pl. IX, No. 13. It is a bronze piece, square in size, and has on the obverse Bull facing right within dotted border and exactly the symbol of the reverse of the present coin on the reverse. The weight of the B.M. specimen is not given in the Catalogue, but its size is ·5″ square, —almost the same as that of the present piece. Gardner has conjecturally attributed the coin to Apollodotus, probably because it has Bull on the obverse, as on a number of coins of that Greek ruler, and because the symbol on the reverse has some kind of resemblance to the tripod lebens, appearing on the coins of Apollodotus. The find-spot of the B.M. specimen is not known, but since it is included among the Indo-Greek coins, it may have been obtained in the North Western Frontier Province or the Western Punjab. Absolutely uninscribed Greek coins without even a monogram are not known, and it is therefore likely that the coin of Mr. Thakore as well as the one in the British Museum may belong to the Taxila series. The symbol on the reverse of these coins is not a tripod, though it bears some resemblance to it.—EDITOR.]

No.	Obverse	Reverse
No. 5.	Crescented Hill and pillar.	Mauryan letter *go* and Crescented Hill.
	Wt. 25·23 grains	S. ·5.″

This coin has been unfortunately lost and hence cannot be illustrated now. The symbols on the obverse, which were carefully noted by me, are the same as on *B.M.C.* var. *a*, Class, 1, the order being reversed; while those on the reverse are the same as on var. *c*, Class, 4. It may be argued that the second symbol on the reverse, pillar, is merely a part of the preceding symbol, Brāhmī *go*, and in that case the coin belongs to var. *e*, Class, 4. The two symbols however were wide apart, rendering this theory improbable. The pillar-like symbol is represented by a straight line and not by a curved one, as in the case of the coins of Var. *e*, Class 4.

SQUARE COPPER COINS FROM BALAPUR (C.P.)

By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares Hindu University.

The four coins that are being published in this paper were kindly sent to me for examination and publication by Mr. Lochan Prasad Pandeya, Hon. Secretary, Mahakosala Historical Research Society, Raipur. They were found in the bed of the Mahanadi river at Balapur in Bilaspur district (C.P.) by gold washers searching for gold dust and beads, which are frequently found at the place.

Along with the four coins, that are being published in this paper, Mr. Pandeya had sent to me 16 other pieces, most of which were similar in size and fabric to those illustrated with this paper. Some however were too blurred to be studied. Such traces as remained, however, showed that most of them had elephant on one side and a human figure on the other, as is the case with most of the coins illustrated with this paper.

The coins are all uninscribed, and only their symbols can be used for determining their attribution. We shall discuss it after describing the coins.

Coin No. 1. Size roughly rectangular, ·7″ × ·6″; weight, 46 grains; metal, copper.

Obverse :—Within a dotted border, elephant walking to right.

Reverse :—Two serpents with raised hood facing each other; a dot between their heads. Behind the serpent, to right, there is another symbol, which has come out only partially. It consists of a dotted crescent-shaped line on the left, another dotted line below, which is incomplete and a dot or knob in the centre. Probably there was another line on the left, as a counterpart of the line on the right, which has not come on the coin. There were four more coins of this type of different weights in the lot sent by Mr. Pandeya, but this symbol was not more complete on any one of them.

Pl. III, 7

Coin No. 2. Metal, copper; size, roughly rectangular, ·5″; weight, 31 grains.

Obverse :—Elephant walking to right as on No. 1 above. The enclosing dotted border has not come out well.

Reverse :—A human figure, probably a female, standing with hands on the waist. What appears as hanging down below the waist on the right and the left, are probably the ends of the upper garment. Pl. III, 8.

There were three more coins of this type among the coins sent to me by Mr. Pandeya.

Coin No. 3. Metal, copper; size, roughly rectangular, ·4″; weight, 16 grains.

Obverse :—Within dotted border visible on the right side only, rudely sketched elephant to right.

Reverse :—The figure is rude and incomplete, but most probably it is intended to stand for a human figure akimbo, as on coin No. 2 above. There is some indistinct symbol on the left of the figure. Pl. III, 9.

Coin No. 4. Metal, copper; size, roughly rectangular, ·55″ × ·45″; weight, 11 grains.

Obverse :—A very crudely sketched and blurred elephant walking to right.

Reverse :—A female figure standing, both hands on the waist; an indistinct symbol on the left. Pl. III, 10.

The present coins bear considerable resemblance to some of the types of the Sātavāhanas. The elephant symbol, which occurs on most of the coins of the present lot, is to be frequently seen on the Sātavāhana coins found in Andhradeśa. It occurs on types Nos. 17-21 enumerated on p. xxix of the Introduction of Rapson's *Catalogue* of the Andhra and Kshatrapa oins in the British Museum and illustrated on plates VII and VIII of the same work. Elephant occurs on Sātavāhana coins found in Mālwā, Central India and Chanda district of C. P. See Rapson's *Catalogue*, Pl. I, 5, 6, 7; Pl. IV. 57, 87; Pl. V. 90-93; Pl. VII. 171-7. The elephant on the Sātavāhana coins is usually with its trunk fully raised or half raised; only on some few coins found in Godavari and Krishna districts, we find it with its trunk hanging down, as on the present coins.

The Nāga symbol which occurs on the reverse of the coin No. 1 occurs on three of the types of Andhradeśa enumerated by Rapson on p. lxxviii-lxxix of his Introduction; Nos. 5, 23 24. It is however associated with lion or *Nandipada* or Chaitya and not with Elephant.

The female figure which appears on the reverse of coins Nos. 2-4 is so far unknown to the Sātavāhana coinage. A male figure however appears on some Sātavāhana coins found in Mālwā; see Rapson's *Catalogue*, Pl. 1, Nos. 2-3.

The coins are on the whole much poorer in execution than the Sātavāhana coins.

In the absence of any coin legends, it is difficult to suggest a definite attribution of these coins. Since the coins bear close resemblance to some of the issues of the Sātavāhanas, it is possible to suggest that they were issued by some of them. The Sātavāhanas are stated by the Purāṇas to have once penetrated to Pāṭalīputra; it is possible that their hitherto unknown coins of the present type, which closely resemble some of their Andhradeśa types, may have travelled in the wake of their armies in Southern Kośala and Eastern C. P.

The coins, however, appear to be more degenerated in type and execution than the Sātavāhana coins of the Andhradeśa. It is equally possible that they may have been issued after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas by local rulers in Southern Kośala, who may have tried to imitate the Sātavāhana types current in Andhradeśa. In the present state of our knowledge, the latter alternative appears to me to be more probable.

A NEW TYPE OF GUPTA COIN.*

BY MR. P. J. CHINMULGUND, I. C. S., BOMBAY.

I have, in my collection, a Gupta coin of a type which has not, as far as I know, been published so far. It is a gold coin of Chandragupta II, Horseman type :

Chandragupta II, Horseman Type, Gold.[1]

Obv. King riding on fully caparisoned horse to r. Sword (lash ?) on his r. side. Crescent behind king's head. Circular legend,

Paramabhāgavata-[Mahārājādhirāja śrī-Chandragu]ptaḥ

Rev. Lakshmī seated to l. on wicker stool with *pāśa* in r. hand ; left hand on the waist, holding lotus with a long stalk. No symbol. Crescent in front of the head of the goddess; legend *Ajita-vikramaḥ*, partly blurred. **Pl. III, 11.**

The coin is of variety B of *B. M. C.* and very similar to *B.M.C.* Pl. X, No. 12. The novelty of it consists in its having a crescent on the reverse to the left of Lakshmī's head. This is the only coin, so far known, that has a crescent both on the obverse and the reverse.

Mr. P. L. Gupta has recently suggested that the crescent on Gupta coins might be a symbol of sovereignty. Dr. Altekar in the same place has said that the significance of the crescent is still a mystery[2]. It appears to me that while it is perfectly possible that the origin of the crescent on Gupta coins lies in the letter O in the original Greek legend, the Gupta mint masters having once adopted it, looked on it as a crescent pure and simple, an Indian symbol, and put it on various coin types. Whether they looked upon it as a symbol of royalty or not, it is difficult to say in the present state of our knowledge.

Though not directly connected with this matter, I would make some suggestions on the significance of certain symbols found on the coins of Andhras, W. Ksatrapas etc. I suggest that the symbols, the Sun, the Moon, Mountain (*chaitya*) and River (wavy line) found on these coins are meant to represent perma-

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1. A photograph of both the obverse and the reverse of this coin will be published in the next number in Pl. VI. 1. Pl. III 11 gives only a sketch of the reverse.

2. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol VIII, pp. 38-40.

nence of the power of the dynasty or king who issued these coins. Thus the presence of all the four symbols would represent *Dharāsindhvarkasomāvadhi*, the mountain standing for earth, Dharā; the river for water, and by an extention of the symbolism, for the sea. The presence of the sun and the moon alone would stand for *Yāvachchandradivākarau*; and of the moon and star for *Āchandratārakaṁ*.

This idea of hoping for the permanence of a dynasty or for the permanence of a grant or a charter is quite common, as can be seen from the general use of such phrases as *Āchandratā-rakaṁ* in grants of land etc. and the representation of the sun and the moon in inscriptions. It will also be clear, in view of this interpretation, that the seven dots found in conjunction with the moon, e.g. on the obverse of the coins of the Western Ksatrapas etc., are meant to represent a star, and not a formal representation of the sun,—the moon-star combination and the sun-moon combination standing for distinct phrases conveying permanence.

COINS DOUBTFULLY ASSIGNED TO QĀDIR SHĀH OF MALWĀ.

By Mr. M. K. Thakore, B. A., LL. B.

Bombay Civil Service (Jdl), Nandurbar.

One of the two coins, which forms the subject of this paper, is in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and has been published by my esteemed friend Mr. C. R. Singhal in Vol. VI of this *Journal* at page 50, while the other is in my cabinet; **Pl. IV, I.** The legend on the obverse is similar to that found on the coins of Mahmūd Shāh III of Gujarāt. Mr. Singhal has read the legend on the reverse as "Bahādur Shāh bin 'Adil Shāh Sulṭan" or "Qādir Shāh bin 'Adil Shāh Sultān". He has rejected the first reading, Bahādur Shāh, for the reasons mentioned by him, and has tentatively assigned the coin to Qādir Shāh of Mālwā (A.D. 1536-1542). It may, therefore, be permissible to submit for the consideration of scholars another suggestion which may supply a correct clue to the solution of this problem.

Unfortunately the coin in my cabinet also does not bear the full name of the king, though the lower part on its reverse is more legible than on the coin in the Prince of Wales Museum. The letter preceding what looks like *alif* appears to be *mīm.* It is, therefore, possible to read the name as Muḥammad Shāh. What looks like *alif* is the upper stroke of *dal.* This way of writing Muhammad is not unusual. I would refer in this behalf to coin No. 122 of Muḥammad Shāh II, Pl. 1, *P. W. M. C.* and to two coins in my cabinet; see **Pl. IV, 2-3.** The second possible reading is Mubārak Shāh, if what looks like *alif* is really that letter. *Kaf*, the last letter, is cut off. My submission therefore is that the legend on the reverse is:

السلطان محمد شاه بن عادل شاه

or

السلطان مبارک شاه بن عادل شاه

I must, however, state that the second reading is to be preferred to the first. In the first case I submit that these coins are the issues of Muḥammad Shāḥ Fārûqī of Khāndesh (A. D. 1520-1535), who was invited by the nobles to ascend the throne of Gujarāt after the death of Bahādur Shāh, and in the second case they belong to Mubārak Shāh II of Khāndesh (A. D. 1535-1566). Both Muḥammad and Mubārak were the sons of 'Adil Khān

Fārūqī. It will be my endeavour to show that historically this view is better supported than the view expressed by Mr. Singhal.[1]

The coins disclose that the father of the ruler was 'Adil Shāh. Mr Singhal has observed that the name of 'Adil Shāh as being the father of Qādir Shāh of Mālwā is not to be traced in any historical book. I may, therefore, be permitted to point out that the name of the father of Mallū Khān, which was the birth-name of Qādir Shāh, has been given in both *Ṭārīkh-ī-Firishta* and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* *Firishta* in his history of Mālwā says :[2]

بعد ازان جنت اشیانی نصیر الدین محمد همایون بادشاه وقتیکه گجرات را مسخر ساخت و سلطان بهادر شاه گجراتی بجانب بندر دیب گریخت آنحضرت بشادی اباد مندو آمده خطبه بنام خود کرد و متعلقان خود سپرد بدان سبب که در جای خود مذکور گشته چون باگره تشریف فرمود ملوخان بن ملوخان که از غلامان خلج و کبار امرای ایشان بود زور آورده بعد یک سال از تصرف لشکر چغتاي بر آورده خود را سلطان قادر نامید

Again, in dealing with the history of Mālwā under Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, he says :[3]

صبح روز دیگر خود نیز عزم اجین نمود و بدریا خان مالوهي حکومت اجین ارزاني داشته بسارنگ پور متوجه گردید و بسارنگ پور را به ملوخان بن ملوخان که در ایام سلطان مظفر از مندو رفته ملازم شده بود و در زمان پادشاه نهی شیرشاه سور خود را خطاب قادر شاهي داده خطبه و سکه آن دیار بنام خود ساخته بود چنانچه عنقریب شمئه از احوال او مرقوم خواهد شد تفویض نمود

Briggs in his translation of the above passages has omitted to give the name of Mallū Khān's father.[4]

The author of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* in his history of Mālwā under the heading "An account of Mallū Khān, Qādir Shāh" says: "When owing to the death of Sulṭān Bahādur, there was disorder in the country of Gujarāt, and the country of Mālwā remained without a ruler; at about that time His Majesty Jinnat Ashīānī turned the bridle of departure from Āgra towards the country of Bangāla. *Mallū Khān, son of Mallū Khān* gave himself, in concert with the *amirs* of Mālwā, the title of Qādir Shāh."[5]

1. I had sent my coin and written to Mr. Singhal expressing my view but he could not accept it, and is still of the opinion that the coins must be assigned to Qādir Shāh of Mālwā. With due respect to Mr. Singhal, I feel convinced that it is not possible to assign these coins to Qādir Shāh of Mālwā, while they can be attributed either to Muḥammad Shāh or Mubārak Shāh of the Fārūqī dynasty. It is, therefore, after very careful consideration, though not without some hesitation, that I have finally submitted this paper for publication.

2. *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, text ; Munshi Naval Kishore Press, Kanpur, A. D. 1884 ; page 270.

3. *Ibid* : page 220.

4. *Firishta, Briggs' Tr.* Vol. IV pages 271 and 118.

5. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, *Tr.* Brajendranath De, Vol. III, page 617. Italics are mine.

In his history of Gujarāt he says: "Sulṭān Bahādur conferred the government of Ujjain on Daryā Khān, who was one of the old *amirs* of Mālwā, and had formerly come as the ambassador to Sulṭān Bahādur, and advanced towards Sārangpūr. He bestowed Sārangpūr on *Mallū Khān, son of Mallū Khān,* who had in the time of Sulṭān Muzaffar gone away from Mandū; and had entered the service of.............. and who in the reign of Shēr Khan had assumed the title of Qādir Shāh, and had the public prayers read and the coins struck in that country in his own name."[1]

Again he says: "Silhadi's son fled from Ujjain, and went to Chitōr. Sulṭān Bahādur bestowed Ujjain on Daryā Khan Mandōwālī, and advanced to Rāīsīn. On the way he left Habīb Khān at Ashta and *Mallū Khān, son of Mallū Khān,* at Sārangpūr, and went and beseiged the fort of Rāīsīn.[2]"

The above references show that Mallū Khān's father was also named Mallū Khān and not 'Adil Shāh. Strange though this may sound, it has been repeatedly so mentioned by more than one historian, and there appears to be no cogent reason to doubt this testimony from original sources.

'Adil Shāh appears to be the name of a very high personage,— a title or regnant designation which ordinarily a ruler would have assumed. There is no historical evidence which might induce us to believe that Qādir Shāh's father was such as could have assumed this name. On the other hand the above extracts from *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* show that Mallū Khān's ancestors were slaves of the Khiljīs, elevated to the rank of *amirs*; and that Mallū Khan had left Mandū and taken up service under Muzaffar Shāh II of Gujarāt. These facts indicate that 'Adil Shāh could not have been the name of Mallū Khān's father.

It will be seen that coins are known to have been minted by Qādir Shāh of Mālwā. The late Mr. H. Nelson Wright was the first to bring to light eight copper coins of this ruler, which he published in his "Addenda to the Mālwā Coinage.'[3] He read the legend on those coins as under :—

Obverse.	Reverse.
السلطان	السلطان
قادر شاه	بن
بن	٩٣٥
شاه اطعو(?)	السلطان
محمود ٩٣٥	

1. *Ibid*, pages 357-358. 2. *Ibid*, page, 616.
3. *N. S.*, No. XI; articles 63, page, 316.

He observed: 'Above the ط of the lower السلطان is the ornament figured as No. 21 in the Catalogue of the Indian Museum, 1907, p. 261, and above the ط of the upper السلطان the ornament figured as No. 23 in the same plate. The words following شاه in the third line of the obverse are a difficulty None of the coins give them very distinctly. After much consideration I am inclined to think they may be a blundered بن لطيف." These coins are not illustrated but the marks and the legend show that they are of Mālwā style.

In his paper "The Coinage of the Sulṭāns of Mālwā"[1] Mr. Nelson Wright published four more copper coins of Qādir Shāh struck only in the name of Maḥmūd Shāh III of Gujarāt. Three of these Nos. 90, 90a and 91 are round, while one, No. 92 is square in shape. Mr. Singhal has also recorded four coins of Qādir Shāh in the name of Maḥmūd III, Nos. 107 to 109 of his paper "On Certain Unpublished Coins of Sultāns of Mālwā".[2] These coins are round in shape. The coins published by Mr. H. Nelson Wright and by Mr. Singhal are of the year A. H. 945. The fabric, calligraphy and weight of these coins are identical with the coins of Mālwā.

Mr. H. Nelson Wright has observed in his paper that Maḥmūd III is stated to have granted Qādir Shāh the right to strike coins but none are known in his own name. Mr. Singhal however has published in his paper two coins, Nos. 106 and 106a, which he has attributed to Qādir Shāh in his own name. Both these coins are square and of Mālwā style.

Now, undoubtedly, the fabric and calligraphy of the coins under discussion are the same as the Gujarāt copper coins of Maḥmūd Shāh III. The legend on the obverse is similar and written in the same way as Maḥmūd's silver coins Nos. 607 to 612 and copper coins Nos. 711a to 716, *P.W.M.C.*. The weight of the coin published by. Mr. Singhal is 132 and that of my coin 129·79 grs., that is nearly equal to coin No. 712, of *P.W.M.C.*, the denomination being of 18 units. It will therefore be seen that these coins are altogether different from the coins struck by Qādir Shāh in his own name, and in the name of Maḥmūd Shāh III. They are directly immitated from the Gujarāt coins of Maḥmūd Shāh III. H. Nelson Wright has remarked that the square coins were the rule, and not the exception in Mālwā, so much so, that even Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt and Ibrāhim Lōdī of Delhi were not above following the local tradition. Hence

1. *The Numismatic Chronicle.* Fifth Series Vol. XI, pages 43-44 Pl. IV (V).

2. *N. S.*: No. XLVII ; Article 349.

when the Mālwā coins of Bahādur Shāh and Qādir Shāh in the name of Maḥmūd III and in his own name are in Mālwā style, it is exceedingly unlikely that Qādir Shāh, disregarding the local traditions would have issued some coins in Gujarāt style.

For the reasons mentioned above I submit that it is not possible to assign the coins under discussion to Qādir Shāh of Mālwā.

It has been suggested that what looks like ٧ within السا on the obverse of my coin is the last numeral 7, of the year 947. I am unable to accept this suggestion. On the coin published by Mr. Singhal there is a dot in place of ٧. There is neither any dot nor any mark on the silver coins of Maḥmūd III of this type, namely, Nos. 607 to 612, in the *P.W.M.C.*. The copper coin No. 711a on pl. VIII of *P.W.M.C.* shows a dot which is rather too big. On one silver coin of this type in my cabinet, **Pl. IV, 4** there is a similar mark ٧. There are also two copper coins of this type in my cabinet, one of which has a small cross and the other a mark like crescent, as shown on **Pl. IV, 5-6.** As a matter of fact on this type of coins of Maḥmūd III, the date appears at the lower end and not in the centre, as will be seen from coins Nos. 607, 711a, and 713 of *P.W.M.C.* and my coin **Pl. IV, 5.** The illegible portion at the bottom of the coin published by Mr. Singhal is really the date, as there is no room for legend there. It, therefore, follows that what looks like ٧ is not a unit of a date, since it cannot be read on either of the coins.

It will not be out of place to refer at this stage to four copper coins in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, which were at first doubtfully assigned by Mr. Singhal to Maḥmūd II of Gujarāt,[1] then to Naṣīr Shāh of Kalpi[2] and lastly to Naṣīr Shāh Fārūqī of Khāndesh.[3] The reasons given by Mr. Singhal for abandoning his previous views and finally assigning those coins to Naṣīr Shāh Fārūqī are that relations between the Fārūqī rulers and the Sulṭāns of Gujarāt were very intimate; that the former were always under the obligations of the latter for their good will and support, which they were getting from time to time; that the legend on the obverse of those coins very closely resembles that on the coins of Aḥmad Shāh I of Gujarāt, and was probably copied from those coins and that the weight, fabric and calligraphy are quite identical with the copper issues of Ahmad Shāh. I submit that these very arguments apply to the coins under discussion with greater force, and support the view I am advancing. Hence, as

1. *N.S.*, Vol. XLII, article 244.
2. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. II, page 132.
3. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. VI, page 46.

observed by Mr. Singhal with regard to those copper coins of Naṣīr Shāh, I think that we must turn to the Fārūqī dynasty of Khāndesh, in order to study this problem.

There have been three rulers in the Fârûqī dynasty, bearing the name 'Adil Khân. The first of them, Mirān 'Adil Khān, ruled from A. H. 841 to 844 (A.D. 1437-1441), and was a contemporary of Ahmad Shāh I of Gujarāt. His son Mirān Mubārak I, had an uneventful reign of 17 years from A. H. 844 to 861 (A. D. 1441-1457). He was thus the contemporary of Muhammad Shāh II and Aḥmad Shāh II of Gujarāt. The present coins, therefore, cannot be assigned to Mubārak Shah I. He was succeeded by 'Adil Khān II (A. H. 861-909=A. D. 1457-1503), who was a powerful king and was the contemporary of the great Maḥmûd Bēgdā of Gujarāt. He left no male child to inherit him and was succeeded by his younger brother Dāúd.

The third Sulṭān named 'Adil Khān (A. H. 916-926=A. D. 1510-1520) was married to the grand-daughter of Maḥmud Bēgda and was able to secure the throne through his influence[1]. He was also a contemporary of his father-in-law Muzaffar Shāh II of Gujarāt and fought with distinction in the campaigns undertaken by him. It may be mentioned that it was during his reign that Muzaffar Shāh II struck coins from Burahānpur, the capital of Khāndesh[2].

This 'Adil Khān III had two sons, Muḥammad Khān and Mubārak Khān. Muḥammad Khān, entitled Mirān Muḥammad Shāh who succeeded 'Adil Khān, was the nephew of Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt and "had been the constant companion and loyal associate of Bahādur during the whole of his reign and had for the past ten years participated in all great military expeditions conducted by the Sultān[3]." Bahādur Shāh had honoured him with the title of Shāh[4] and had nominated him his heir and successor. The author of Mirāt-i-Sikandarī says: "They said that the late Sultan (Bahādur Shāh) had during his life appointed him his heir apparent, having one day seated him on the throne and ordered the nobles and ministers of the state to do him honour, and that they had all obeyed. The Sultan had taken the course to publish the wish and desire that after him the rule and the kingdom may descend to him".[5] After the

1. *Firishta. Briggs' Tr.* Nol. IV. pages 303-304., *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī Tr.* Faziullah, Page 76 onwards.

2. Coins Nos. 440 to 443 to 490a, *P. W. M. C.*

3. *History ef Gujarāt*, by Khan Bahadur, M. S. Commissariat, page 388.

4. *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Tr.* Fazlullah, page 169.

5. *Ibid*, page 202.

death of Bahādur Shah, the nobles of Gujarāt invited Muḥammad Shāh to the throne of Gujarāt, but he died within a few weeks.

No coins of Muḥammad Shāh have upto now been found. The learned editor of the *Cotalogue of the Coins of the Sultans of Gujarat in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay,* is of opinion that *Firishta's* reference to coins issued in the name of Muḥammad Shāh, is not so reliable, on the ground that both *Mirat-i-Sikandarī* and *Aḥmadī* say with one voice that, as soon as Muḥammad Shāh heard the sad news of his uncle Bahādur's death, he was so much grieved that he stopped talking to anybody and resigned his life a few days after the death of Sulṭān Bahādur. [1] According to him, therefore, no coins were struck by Muḥammad Shāh because he died before he ascended the throne of Gujarāt. What Firishta says is: "The Guzerat officers, however, convening a meeting, resolved on inviting Meeran Mohomed Khan of Kandeish, nephew of Bahadur Shah, who was then in Mālwā, to ascend the throne, *and without further hesitation, coins were struck and public prayers read in his name*[2]." The author of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* also says: "The *amirs* of Gujarāt became perturbed on beholding this new disturbance, and took counsel with one another, about the choice of a *bādshāh.* As Sulṭan Bahādur had repeatedly expresssed his intention of making Mirān Muammad Shāh, who was his nephew (sister's son), his heir, every one agreed to select him as the Sulṭān, and *had the khuṭba read and the sikka struck in his absence.* They sent swift messengers to bring him.. ....Mirān Muḥammad Shāh, whom Sulṭān Bahādur had sent as far as Mālwa in pursuit of the Chaghtāi army, died of natural causes, a month and a half after the Khuṭba had been read in his name[3]." It, therefore, appears that coins were struck, not by Muḥammad Shāh himself, but in his absence by the nobles, immediately on their selecting him as the successor of Bahādur Shāh. This does not appear to be surprizing, because Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, who had returned to Gujarāt on hearing of the death of Bahādur Shāh, was conspiring to usurp the throne of Gujarāt. He also had the public prayer read in his own name at Div,[4] In order to meet with this new menace, the nobles of Gujarāt seem to have adopted the effective measure of reading khuṭba and striking coins in the

1. *P. W. M. C.*, *Note* 3 (b) page XII.

2 *Firishta, Briggs' Tr.* Vol. IV, pages 142-143. Italics are mine.

3. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari, Tr.* Brajendranath De. Vol. III, pages 382-833. Italics are mine.

4. *Tārikh-i-Gujarāt*, pages 36-39.

name of Muḥammad Shāh, who was not only the nominee of Bahādur Shāh, but whom they had decided to place on the throne. The fact that Muḥammad Shāh died a few weeks after learning about the death of his uncle does not in any way affect the truth of this statement. On the other hand, looking to the political situation of the time, this statement must be accepted as correct.

Muḥammad Shāh was succeeded by his brother Mubārak. Firishta merely states that none of the children of Muḥammad Shāh were of an age to take the reign of government, and his brother Mubārak, hearing of his decease at Burhānpūr, immediately *assumed the title of Shāh.*[1] *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* gives more details. The nobles of Khāndesh who had placed the infant son of Muḥammad Shāh on the throne, had handed over Mubārak to a nobleman, Ibrat Khān, for safe custody for the night, but Mubārak won him over, and with his help took the palace. He then, "taking his nephew (Muḥammad Shāh's son) in his lap ascended the throne, and sent a message to the nobles that the regency of the kingdom during his nephew's minority pertained to him......... All of them submitted. That day passed thus. At night he slew his nephew and in the morning, issuing forth, he sat on the throne by himself. The nobles came and did him homage, and with folded arms stood each in his proper place. *They struck coins in the name of Mubārik Shāh and his title of Khān became changed into that of Shāh*".[2]

After the death of Muḥammad Shāh the nobles of Gujarāt decided to place on the throne of Gujarāt Maḥmūd Shāh, the grandson of Muzaffar Shāh, who was kept in the fort of Biawal (Yaval, in Dist. East Khandesh). He was, therefore, summoned to Gujarāt. Firishta says: "*Meeran Moobarik who himself aspired to the throne of Guzerat,* and to which his brother had been so lately elevated, threw obstacles in the way of the enlargement of the Prince Mahmood; but the Guzerat officers resented his detention so warmly, that Meeran Moobarik Khan was compelled from motives of policy to permit Yektiar Khan to take charge of him, and he was accordingly crowned at Ahmadabad in the year 943"[3].

In about A. H. 944, Daryā Khān who had taken Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh with him led an army against Imād-ul-Mulk, another powerful nobleman of Gujarāt, and defeated him. Imād-ul-Mulk sought shelter with Mubārak Shāh. The latter refused to give up Imād-ul-Mulk to Daryā Khān and gave

1. *Firishta, Briggs' Tr.* Vol. VI, page 313.
2. *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Tr.* Fazlullah, page 207.
3. *Firishta, Briggs' Tr.* Vol. IV page 313. Italics are mine.

battle in which he was defeated. "Then the Sultan (Maḥmūd Shāh) went to Burhānpur and Imād-ul-Mulk fled and sought shelter with Kādir Shāh at Māndu, the ruler of Mālwa. The Sultan remained for some time at Burhānpur and eventually made peace, *stipulating that the public sermon should be read and the coins struck in his name.*"[1]

It will, therefore, be seen that coins were struck by Mubārak Shāh. This fact is also borne out by the condition imposed upon him by Maḥmud Shāh after the former's defeat, to strike coins in the name of the Sulṭān of Gujarat. The fact also gets corroboration from the claim of Mubārak to the throne of Gujarāt and his efforts to that end.

It can, therefore, be concluded that coins were struck in the name of Muḥammad Shāh by the nobles of Gujarāt. Muḥammad Shah, however, died shortly afterwards and Maḥmūd Shāh III ascended the throne of Gujarāt. In Khāndesh, Muḥammad Shāh was succeeded by Mubārak Shāh who also struck coins in his own name. The present coins can, therefore, be assigned to Muḥammad Shāh and in that case the coins of Maḥmūd Shāh of this type must have been copied from these coins. They can also be assigned to Mubārak Shāh of Khāndesh.

As stated above, the name of the ruler on the coins is incomplete and is to be reconstructed, more or less by inference. The name may be Qādir Shāh, but as shown by me above the attribution of coins to Qādir Shāh of Mālwā cannot be justified. It is possible to read the name as Muḥammad Shāh or Mubārak Shāh, and I have shown that these coins can be assigned to either of them. But, as stated above the second name deserves preference and hence I submit that the coins should, for the present, be assigned to Mubārak Shāh II of Khāndesh.

1. *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, *Tr.* Fazlullah, page 210. Italics are mine.

DATE OF THE RESTORATION OF THE HOUSE OF ILYAS SHAH

BY N. B. SANYAL, M. A., B. L.

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The *Riyāzū-s-Salātīn* presents the following account of the fall of the dynasty of Rājā Kāns and the restoration of the house of Ilyās Shāh to the sovereignty of Bengal:

REIGN OF AHMAD SHĀH, SON OF JALĀLU-D-DĪN.

"When Sulṭān Jalālu-d-dīn was laid in the grave, his son Ahmad Shāh, with the consent of the nobles and the generals of the army, ascended the throne in succession to his father. As he was very peevish, oppressive and blood-thirsty, he shed blood for nothing, and used to cut open the bodies of pregnant women. When his oppressions reached the utmost limits, and the low and the high were exasperated to desperation by his tyranny, Shādi Khān and Nāṣir Khān who were his two slaves and held the rank of nobles intrigued, and killed Ahmad Shāh; and this event occurred in 830 A. H. His reign lasted sixteen years, and according to another account, eighteen years.

REIGN OF NĀṢIR KHĀN, THE SLAVE.

When the throne became vacant by the murder of Ahmad Shāh, Shādi Khān desired to put Nāṣir Khān out of the way and to become himself the Administrator-General of the kingdom. Nāṣir Khān, guessing his design, forestalled him, and slew Shādi Khān and boldly placing himself on the throne, commenced to enforce orders. The nobles and the Mulūk of Ahmad Shāh not submitting to him, slew him. His reign lasted seven days, and according to another account, half a day.

REIGN OF NĀṢIR SHĀH.

When Nāṣir Khān the slave in retribution for his misdeeds was killed, the nobles and the generals leaguing together, raised to the throne one of the grand-sons of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-dīn Bhangra who had capacity for this onerous charge, styling him Nāṣir Shāh."[1]

The fall of Ahmad Shāh marked the extinction of the dynasty of Rājā Kāns. After the usurpation and the usurper's overthrow which followed, the Ilyās Shāhi dynasty was

1. *Riyāzū-s-Salātīn*, trans., Maulvi Abdus Salam (Bib. Ind.) pp. 118-120.

restored under the rule of Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd Shāh I. In the account quoted above, the date of the assassination of Ahmad Shāh is given as 830 A H. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* gives also the same date for the event.[1]

As the coinage of Ahmad Shāh's father, Sulṭān Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh, continued till at least 835 A. H.,[2] the date of the death of Ahmad Shāh as given above cannot be held as correct.

According to the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Ahmad ruled for 16 years.[3] According to the *Riyāz*, as quoted above, 'his reign lasted sixteen years, and according to another account, eighteen years'. So, if he followed his father to the throne in the year 835 A. H.[4], his reign according to this reckoning should be extended to either 851 or 853 A. H. On the contrary, it was found that the coinage of his successor Nāsiru d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh went back at least to the year 846 A. H [5] A doubt was thus raised if for the greater part of his reign Ahmad was not vigorously and successfully opposed by Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh[6]. This, however, the Muhammadan histories do not say. In the account of the *Riyāz* quoted above, the successive course of events which led to the fall of Ahmad Shāh and the rise of Maḥmūd Shāh I to power, namely, (1) the assassination of Ahmad Shāh, (2) the usurpation of Nāṣir Shāh, the slave, (3) the usurper's overthrow, and (4) the installation of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh to the kingship of Bengal by the courtiers and the generals, is too distinctly and definitely narrated to be ignored. No suggestion is thrown in any of the Muhammadan histories about Maḥmud's stepping to the throne through an opposition rule. It is also noteworthy in this connection that at least as early as in the year 846 A. H. Maḥmūd is seen to be claiming sovereignty over territories that lay almost at the gates of the city of Gaur.[7] To reconcile therefore the apparent inconsistency, as noted above, recent historians have assigned to Ahmad Shāh a rule of 11 years, extending from 835 to 846 A. H. (1431-42 A. D.), and to his successor Maḥmūd Shāh I, 17 years, commencing in the year 846 A. H. and terminating in 864 A.H.

1. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, transl., B. De (Bib. Ind), Vol. III, pt. 1, p. 434.
2. *I. M. C.*, Vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 161-164. Coins No. 108 and 110 are of 834. Bhattasali : *Coins and Chronology*, p. 128 describes and illustrates a Coin of 835 H. the date on which is clear (Pl. IX. 5). The *B.M.C.* describes and illustrates a coin of the succeeding King Ahmad Shah, clearly dated 836 H. So, the I. M. C. Coin No. 104 of Jalauddin, on which the editor has read the date of 840 H must be dismissed as incorrectly read.
3. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, *loc. cit*, p. 434.
4. *I. M. C.*, Vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 161-164, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII. pt. 1,1873 pp. 266 and ff.
5. Blockmann, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII, pt. 1, 1873. p. 269.
6. *Idem*, p. 268-269, R. D. Banerji, *Bānglār Itihāsa*, Vol. II, p. 184.
7. Sarkar, G. D., *J. P. A. S. B.*, NS. Vol. XIII, p. 151.

(1442-59 A. D.)[1]. These authorities have thus fixed the date of the transition in the year 846 A. H.

Very recently, however, the cabinet of the Varendra Research Museum at Rajshahi has received a new coin of Nāṣiru-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I, which bears a date in 841 A. H. This is as follows: Metal, Silver. Size, 1·125. Weight, 161·56 grains. A. H. 841.

Obverse—In double circle, with arabesques between,

ناصر الدنيا والدين

ابوالمجاهد

محمودشاه السلطان

No margin legible, except ٨٤١

Reverse—In a circle

المويد

بتايدالرحمن

خليفة الاه

بالحجة و البرهان

Margin cut and illegible.

Pl. IV, 7

This fresh discovery has thus upset the arrangement which had tentatively been adopted in fixing the chronology of the two reigns. It puts back the commencement of Maḥmūd's reign by 5 years and necessarily implies a further reduction of the length of Ahmad's rule by the same period. The question of the actual date of the transition is thus presented anew. A re-examination of this problem necessitates a reconsideration of the chronology of the two reigns, for the settlement of which the main complication lies in the apparent conflict between the traditional and the numismatic evidence.

The existing Muhmmadan histories refer to no date in connection with the reign of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I. Regarding the duration of his reign, however, they record as follows:

Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī :

"The period of his reign was two years.[2]

Riyāẓu-s-Salāṭīn :

"Reigning thirty-two years over Bengal, he passed away like others before him from the world, and according to another account, his reign did not exceed twenty-seven years."[3]

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1. Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 267-68. 695; Stapleton. H. E., *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, pp. 189-90.
2. *Loc. cit.*, p. 434.
3. *Loc. cit.*, p. 120.

A date which can be fixed with any fair degree of accuracy in connection with Maḥmūd's reign is the date of his death. The latest inscription of his reign is dated the 28th Zil Hijjah, 863 A. H. or the 26th October, 1459 A. D.[1] The earliest date ascertained for his successor Ruknu-d-dīn Bārbak S̲h̲āh is 864 A. H.[2] It can therefore be accepted as almost certain that Maḥmūd S̲h̲āh died in the beginning of the year 864 A. H.

This date can thus be assumed as a well attested starting point to obtain a date for his accession to the thrọne which can be considered as satisfactory on the whole. The *Tabaqāt* assigns only 2 years to his reign. This is manifestly incorreet in view of the dates which have already been ascertained of his reign from his inscriptions and coins.[3] If we then allow on the testimony of the first statement of the *Riyāz*, 32 years to his reign, we are brought to the year 831 A. H. for the commencement of his reign. This, however, cannot be accepted, becau e, as referred to above, the coinage of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad S̲h̲āh extends to the year 835 A. H. These statements being therefore rejected as untenable, there remains only the second statement of the *Riyaz*, according to which 'his reign did not exceed 27 years.' This testimony of the *Riyāz* takes us to the year 836 A. H. as the first year of Mahmūd's reign, and this is also the same year in which the only dated coin of Ahmad S̲h̲āh yet known was struck.[1] This reckoning thus yields a date for the beginning of Maḥmūd's reign which does not conflict at least with the numismatic and the epigraphic data which we at present possess.

If, therefore, this testimony of the *Riyāz* be correct, it follows then that the rule of the house of Rājā Kāns terminated in the year 836 A. H. The grounds in favour of the rejection of the traditional account of the duration of Ahmad's reign as recorded in the *Tabaqāt* and in the *Riyāz* have already been cited above, the very short duration of his tyrannical rule is indicated also by the extreme paucity of his coins, of which only a solitary dated specimen has been known up-to-date, and also by the absence of any epigraphic record of his reign.[3] Could this be possible if his reign was really so long as the *Tabaqāt* or the *Riyāz* states ? In fact, the inaccuracy of their statements in this respect is being more and more deeply impressed in the light of fresh discoveries of the earlier coinage of Maḥmūd's reign, necessitating further reduction

1. Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, 1872, p. 108.

2. Wright, *I. M. C.*, Vol. II. pt. 2, p. 167, No. 135.

3. Sarkar, G. D, *J. P. A S. B.*, NS, Vol. XIII, p. 151, Stapleton, *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, p. 176; I. *M. C.*, vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 164-66.

of the duration of Ahmad's reign to narrower limits. If, therefore, the testimony of the *Riyāz* which assigns 27 years to Maḥmūd's rule be correct, the duration of Ahmad's rule could not be more than 2 years, which time, as referred to above, the *Tabaqāt* erroneously attributes to the reign of his successor Maḥmūd.

Unluckily, we do not possess at present any more historical data which can throw any decisive light on the chronology of Ahmad's reign. Till further evidence is therefore forthcoming, the date of the fall of the house of Rājā Kāns and the restoration of the dynasty of Ilyās Shāh to the sovereignty of Bengal may reasonably be fixed in the year 836 A. H., and, the chronology of the reigns in this connection may be settled as shown below. It remains also to be pointed out in this connection that the *Cambridge History of India* makes Nāṣir the slave and Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, the first Sulṭān of the house of Ilyās (restored), one and the same person[4]. This is however contrary to all the authorities[5].

SULTANS OF BENGAL

Chronology

A. H.		A. D.
835	Accession of Shamsu-d-dīn Ahmad Shāh.	1431
836	Assassination of Shamsu-d-dīn Ahmad Shāh. Usurpation of Nāṣir Khān, the slave. Murder of Nāṣir Khān, the slave.	1432
836	Accession of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I.	1432
864	Death of Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd Shāh I.	1459

1. *British Museum Catalogue of Indian Coins, Muhammaden states*: 1885 : Lane-poole P. 36.

2. The *B. M. C.* Catalogues two coins of Ahmad Shah one dated 836 H. and the other undated. I understand, there are two undated coins of Ahmad Shah in the cabinet of the Dacca Museum. Vide D. M. Annual Report for 1939-40. P. 11. A massive six-domed mosque at Muazzampur, near the ruins of Sonargaon, Dt. Dacca, was erected during the reign of Ahmad Shah. The date of the inscription is gone. See Aulad Hasan's *Antiquities of Dacca*. p. 54. *N K B.*

3. Sir W. Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 267.

4. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, transl., B. De. (Bib. Ind), p. 484, n. 5.

SOME DATA ON THE CURRENCY OF THE PESHWA TIMES.[1]

By N. G. Chapekar, b.a., ll.b., Badlapur

It occurred to me that the account books still available in Mahārāshtra would prove a fruitful source of the authentic history relating to the Peshwa times. With this in mind I began collecting and examining the books, which came in large numbers. There are scions of ancient families in Mahārāshtra, who have still carefully preserved their valuable account books. I am particularly grateful to the Khasgiwale family of Poona, the Subhedar family of Kalyan, Dixit-Patwardhan family of Nasik, Chiplunkar family of Poona and Vaidya family of Wai. Chiplunkars' account books had been procured by the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal of Poona. Much material is obtainable in these books respecting matters, religious, social, economic, political and genealogical. Here, however, we are concerned only with the media of exchange then prevalent. It may be observed that these account books furnish valuable data for the student of currency, as we have hardly any official data to throw light on the subject. In the absence of a numismatic history of the Peshwa times, the account books furnish good reliable material for a study of the currency of that period.

At the oustet it must be stated that in the times of the Peshwas, coinage was not a monopoly, either private or governmental. Not a few people were apparently licensed to mint coins, which naturally varied in their weight, purity and types from place to place. No wonder then that there was a plethora of coins of various sorts. Even in a single town various kinds of coins were in circulation. Obviously these were exchanged at a rate which varied according to the metal used in the coins. Generally, silver rupees were in circulation, though gold coins like *Mohars* and *Putalīs* were not unknown. *Battā* was the Marathi equivalent of the rate of exchange. Those who dealt in exchange business were designated as Naiks, provided they were Brahmans. Others were called shroffs.

The following are the names of Rupees that I came across in the account books I studied:—

1. Ālamgīrī (आलमगीरी), (2) Aṅkuśi (अंकुशी), (3) Arkāṭ

1. The article is translated from the original article in Marathi written by Mr. Chapekar for this Journal.

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(आर्काट), (4) Ārkāṭ-ganjīkoṭ (आर्काटगंजीकोट), (5) Arkāṭ-phul-chaḍi (आरकाटफूलचड़ी), (6) Aṭīche (अटीचे), (7) Baḍodī (बड़ोदी), (8) Bāgalkoṭi (बागलकोटी), (9) Bahuti (बहुति), (10) Bājār-chalanī (बाजार चलनी), (11) Bāvaḍī (बावड़ी), (12) Bhaḍochī (भड़ोंची), (13) Bhāṭvaḍī (भाटवड़ी), (14) Bhuṇḍe (भुंडे), (15) Belāpuri (बेलापुरि), (16) Chāndvaḍ (चाँदवड़), (17) Chatarsingī (चतरसिंगी), (18) Chinchvaḍ (चिंचवड़), (19) Dāṇe-chalanī (दाणेचलनी), (20) Daulatābādī (दौलताबादी), (21) Delhī-sikkā (देहली-सिक्का), (22) Ekbanduki (एकबन्दुकि), (23) Gajāpurī (गजापुरी), (24) Hāli-sikkā (हालिसिक्का), (25) Hāpis chalanī (हापिस-चलनी), (26) Hukerī (हुकेरी), (27) Itāv (इटाव), (28) Kalyāṇchāl miṭhe, (कल्याणचाल मिठे), (29) Kāśī-sikkā (काशी-सिक्का). (30) Konkaṇ-chalani chinchvaḍ, (कोंकणचलनी चिंचवड़), (31) Mahamadshāhī (महमदशाही), (32) Malhārshāhī (मल्हारशाही), (33) Malkāpurī (मलकापुरी), (34) Mirjī (मिरजी), (35) Miṭe (मिटे), (36) Nāgāche (नागाचे), (37) Nīlkanṭhī (नीलकंठी), (38) Panālī (पनाली), (39) Pañchmel (पँचमेल), (40) Panhāli (पन्हाली), (41) Pethchalanī (पेठचलनी), (42) Pharaśi (फरशी), (43) Potechāl (पोतेचाल), (44) Puṇe-chalanī (पुणेचलनी , (45) Rahimatpurī (रहिमतपुरी), (46) Sāhū-sikkā (शाहूसिक्का), (47) Sarkār-chalanī (सरकार चलनी), (48) Sarolī (सरोली), (49) Sipri-sikkā, (सिप्रि सिक्का), (50) Sūratī (सूरती), (51) Talegāvī (तलेगावी), (52) Tris'ūlī (त्रिशूली), (53) Turyāche (तुर्याचे), (54) Wāī-sikkā (वाईसिक्का), (55) Wasaīchāl chandvaḍ (वसईचाल चंदवड).

I must not omit to state that most of the account books I consulted belonged to the latter part of Peshwāi.

Unfortunately traditional information about many of the aforesaid coins is nil and no documents are available, which would throw any light on them. We are mostly left to guess for ourselves. For instance, Gāḍīchā Rupāyā, Timbāche Potechāl, Petīchā Rupāyā, are terms absolutely unintelligible to the present generation. All these coins began to be melted since the time they ceased to be legal tender; hence correct information about them began to become scarce in the course of time.

It will be seen that many coins have received their names

from the place of their mint ; some are denominated from the figure inscribed on them ; a few are known from the name of the rulers who coined them first ; some names are significant ; e.g. '*Mithe*' means nice, good. *Bazar-chalani* means current in the bazar ; similarly 'sanctioned by the Government' may be the the meaning of *Sarkār chalanī*. *Dāne-chalanī* probably signified 'current in Dānā-bazar or grain market.'

The expression Wasaichāl rupee was very likely restricted the rupees current in the town of Bassein in the Thana District and possibly to the neighbouring region.

Bazar-chalanī and *Peth-chalanī* may have been synonyms ; but it will be unwarrantable to identify Poone-Chalanī with *Pune Sikkā*. I found *Pune Sikkā* coin mentioned in the account book of Mr. Jog of Bhiwandi in the Thana district.

What is *Potechāl ?* It most probably means 'acceptable to the Treasury'. From the examination of the various entries in the account books I am led to believe that *Potechāl* did not denote any specified coin. The term was used with reference to all sorts of coins, which were of undiminished weight and did not suffer from over-circulation. At times the word Sarkārī (Govermental) was used as a prefix to *Potechāl* or *Potechalanī*. There is not enough material to make the definite statement that the expressions *Sarkārī*, *Potechalanī* and *Potechāl* were indentical ; for it seems from the Peshwa diary that the Peshwa Government at one time disallowed private minting and established their own mints—one at Dharwar and another at Nāsik. *Sarkāri Potechāl* may, therefore, mean coins issued from Government mints to the exclusion of those minted otherwise, though tenderable in Government treasuries. This inference will be correct, if we know positively that the adjective *Sarkārī* was never applied to the word *Potechāl* before the starting of the Government mints at Nasik and Dharwar. *Kore Pharasī* and *Hālī Sikkā* have been described as *Potechāl*. This corroborates the statement that no single type of coinage bore the name of *Potechāl*. It seems that the Peshwa Government had fixed the proportion of fine metal in the coin and the coin agreeing with it was *Potechāl*.

A *Chhāpī rupāyā* is another insoluble riddle. Literally *chhāpī* means stamped or impressed. But all the coins bore an impression. So the bare use of the word *chhāpī* would be meaningless. It is just possible that the rapid circulation would make the impressions faint. The people therefore must have been renewing the impressions from time to time. The following are the expressions which I noticed in the account tooks respecting the matter under consideration :—

(1) 75 Rs. *Chinchwaḍ Chhāpī*.

(2) ½ anna as expenses of making *chhāpī* into *kore* (new).
(3) One anna as *Baṭṭā* for making one *Wai Sikkā* rupee into a *Chhāpī* (rupee).

The first of the above expressions offers no difficulty. It means Rs. 75 of Chinchwaḍ mint-impression.

The second statement presents some difficulty. Does it mean that the original impression, which had been effaced or become blurred, was, therefore, renovated ?

The third statement baffles solution. The word *Śikkā* itself means impression. At present there is no material to justify a distinction between *Śikkā* and *Chhāp*. We have further no evidence to say that the word *Chhāpī* denoted any particular type of coinage. It is possible to argue that the third statment is nothing more than a mere paraphrase of the second.

Chinchwaḍ rupees have been variously described ; i. e.

Rs. 400 *Chinchwaḍ-Konkaṇ-Chalanī.*
Rs. 50 *Chinchwaḍ-Bazār-Chalanī.*
Rs. 100 *Chinchwaḍ Peṭh Chalani.*
Rs. 40 *Chinchwaḍ Puṇyāche (of Poona).*
Rs. 40 *Chinchwaḍ Chhāpi Sulākhi* (with a hole bored in the coin).

It seems that the same mint issued so many varieties of one coin, but what were their distinguishing mark we do not know. Possibly a distinction was made between *Bazār* and *Peṭh.* Certainly the two words are not synonyms. Therefore, the *Bazār-chalanī-rupāyā* must be different from *Peṭh-chalanī.*

Owing to the multiplicity of rupees, exchange transactions were frequent. It never occurred to the then Government that a single type of currency throughout the territories they governed would facilitate trade. There was no standard weight. Exchange simply meant bringing all sorts of coins to a common measure.

The following are the rates of exchange for different coins:

Name	Rate of exchange
Malkāpuri-Chinchwaḍ	25 P.C.
Miraji-Rahīmaturī	25 ,,
Pharshi-Malkāpurī	25 ,,
Ārkaṭ-Sūratī	3½ ,,
Śikkā-Potechāl	31 ,,
Trishulī-Nāgāche	12½ ,,
Śikkā-Chāndwaḍ	5 ,,
Bhaṭodī-Chinchwaḍ	1 ,,
Belāpuri-Chāndwaḍ	7½ ,,

Chāndwaḍ-Ṣāhuśikkā	37 „
Hāli Sikka-Chāndwaḍ	$8\frac{1}{4}$ „
Kore Pharaśī-Chânwaḍ	$6\frac{1}{2}$ „

There seems to be ambiguity with respect to almost every species of coinage. For instance, the word *Ṣikkā* is used quite vaguely enough. It means impression; but when used singly it often denotes coinage of the Nizam Government. which is popularly known as *Hāli Ṣikkā*. In the papers of Chiplûṇkars there is an entry entitled *Ṣikkā* coins comprising rupees of different denominations such as *Hāli*, *Chandwaḍ*, *Pañchmel*, *Alamgīrī*, *Malkâpurî*, and *Malhārshāhī*. This means that the word *Sikkâ* was applied to every impressed coin.

We do not know what was exactly understood by '*Aṭīche rupaye*—an expression that confronts us while examining old account books. At one place Rs. 25000 have been described as *Aṭīche-Mahamadshāhī*; another entry of Rs. 38,500 is particularised as *Aṭîche-June* (old).

There is an entry of three annas representing expenses of making one Bombay rupee and three *Bhātwaḍi* rupees into *Chalanī* (current). The entry is of the year 1788 A. D. Does this mean that the coins were repolished or restandardised after examination at the mint ?

One passage in the account book refers to the procuring of *Arkāt* rupees for distribution at Pandharpur ; this shows that the rupees of the Arkāt mint enjoyed high reputation even in Mahārāshṭra.

Gawaliyar, *Ganjikot*, *Ārakāt*, *Malkāpurī*, *Hukerī*, *Mirajī* are the names of some of the rupees which were current in Peshwa times. Evidently these names were derived from the places where the coins were minted. But there are expresions such as *Mirajī,-Hukerī,-Gawāliyar*, *Ganjikot*, *Ārkāt-Ganjikot*, etc. What do these signify ? We have to remain content with mere surmises for the present ; and I think Miraji-Hukerî means a *Hukeri* coin minted at Miraj ; likewise with *Ārkāt-Ganjikot*, and so on. This conjecture is partially borne out by an entry in the account papers of Chiplunkars. The entry is :— 50 *Belāpurī* rupees of the *Malhârī-Sikka*. The latter was a rupee coined by one Malhār Rao Raste, and the rupees of his brand were minted at Belāpur.

Three more entries deserve scrutiny. They are all from Vaidyas' papers :—

(1) 12-8-0 *Rahīmatpurī* rupees were converted into *Chānd-waḍ* rupees, through a shroff, who received Rs. 3-2-0

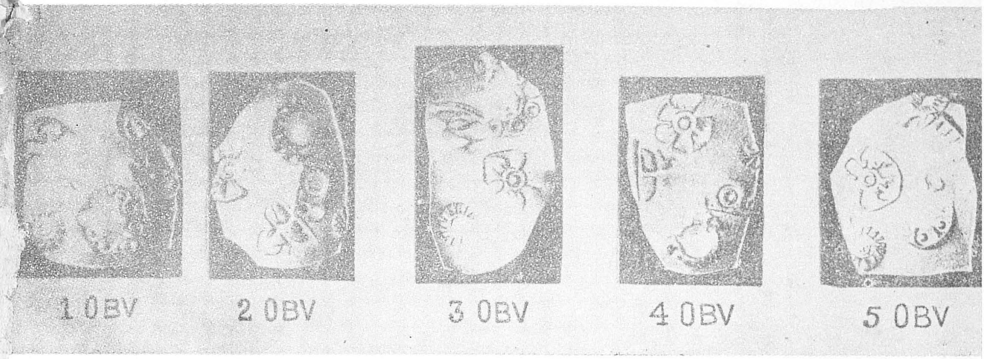
by way of *baṭṭā* ; the rate being 4 annas per rupee. So, it came to Rs. 9-6-0. These had to be paid into Government Treasury But Government again charged *baṭṭā* at the rate of 5 P. C. So the sum that was eventually credited to the payer was Rs. 8-14-6 only.

(2) The second entry is to the same effect though of a different month.

(3) The third entry relates to *Śāhu Śikkā* rupees (3-6-0), being converted to Chāndwaḍ at the specified rate of *baṭṭā* ; Government also charged on their own account one anna and six pies, which is also called *baṭṭā*.

Here we are not quite sure as to the necessity of *baṭṭā* being charged by Government. Moreover, in all the three instances the *Chāndwaḍ* coin seems to be the medium. What purpose the *Chāndwaḍ* currency served is more than what we can surmise.

More precise and substantial numismatic data are expected from an extensive and deeper study of different account books, and I earnestly invite the attention of those who are interested in the subject to this neglected source of history.



A NEW VARIETY OF PUNCH-MARKED COINS

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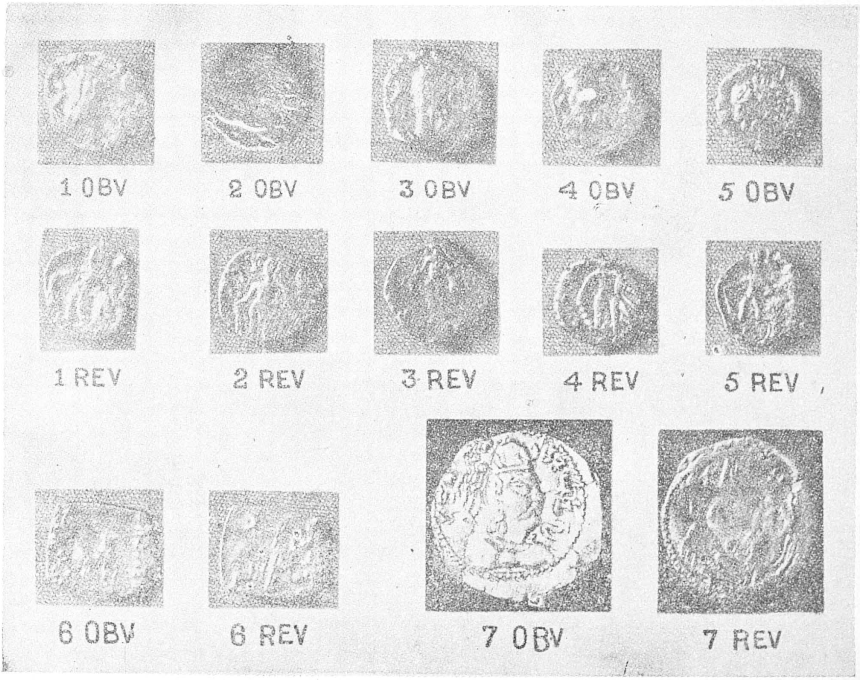
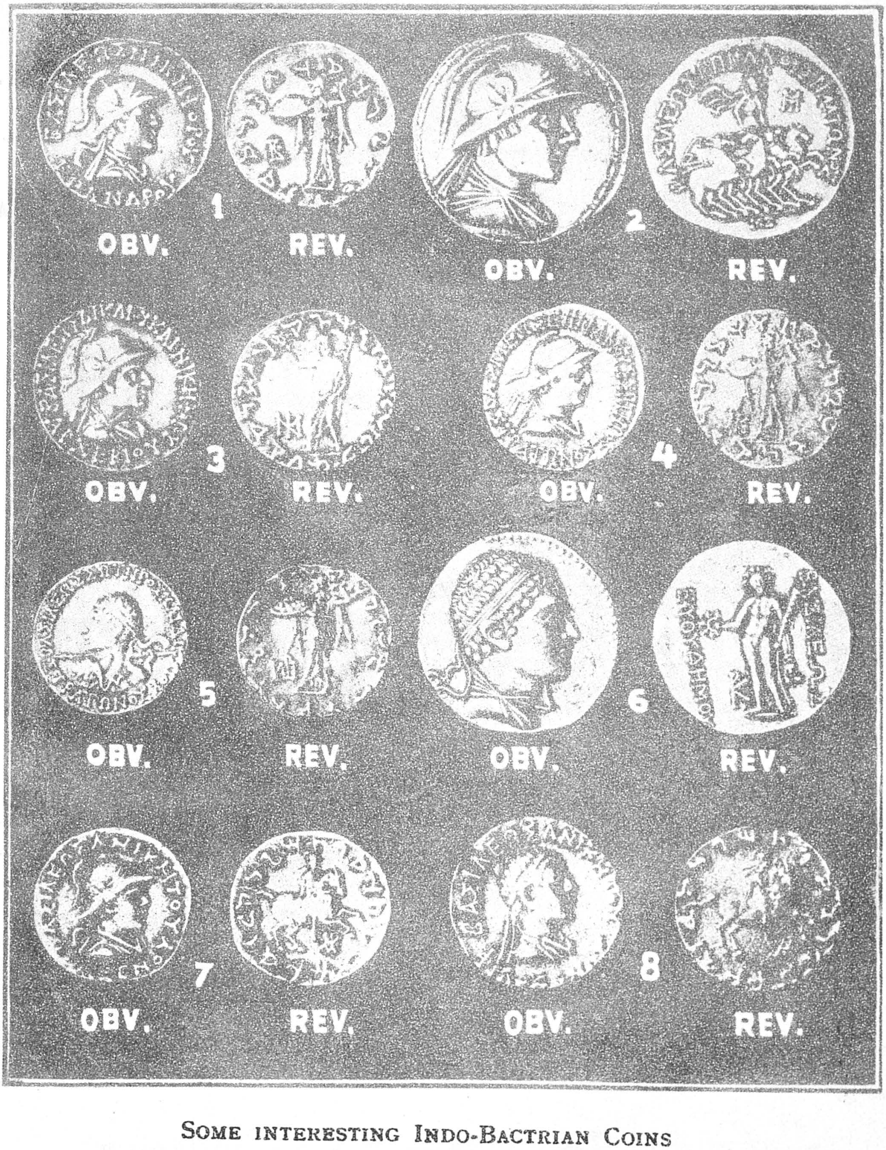


SOME NEW HERMAIOS KADPHISES COINS



Some interesting Indo-Bactrian Coins

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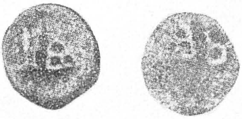

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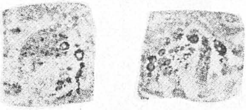

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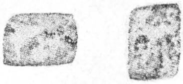

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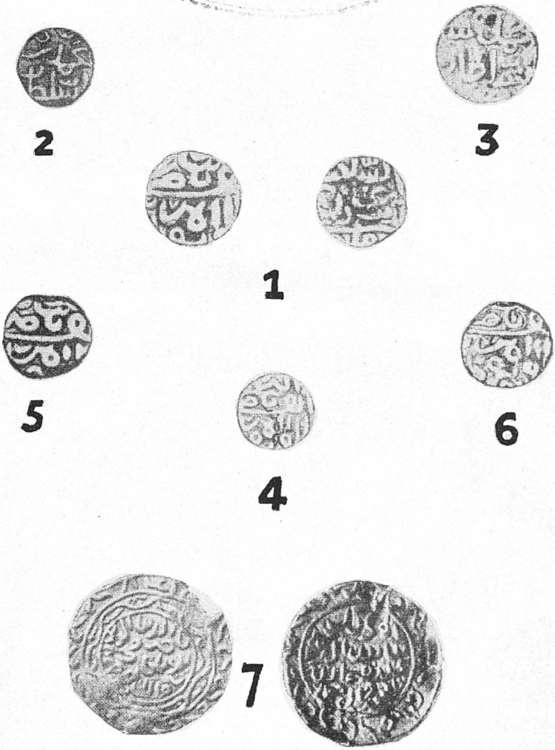
MISCELLANEOUS ANCIENT INDIAN COINS



COINS OF QADIR SHĀH (?) OF MALWA AND NASIRUDDIN MAHMUD SHAH OF BENGAL.